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TOUSSAINT L'OVERTURE.

IF any proof were required to repel the charge that the negro is of an inferior race, we might point to the subject of this sketch, amongst many others, as eminently affording such proof. The perusal of the incidents of his eventful life leads to the conclusion, that in every respect Toussaint L'Overture is entitled to be ranked as a man amongst men,—a “true image of God” cut in ebony. He was of pure African descent, and but one generation removed from the wild and untutored state of his ancestors. The first fifty years of his life were passed in Slavery, which, although of a mild character, offered but few opportunities and no incentives for mental improvement. But when circumstances arose which led to a change of position, and a way was opened for the development of his latent powers, he achieved an amount of success and fame in no way unworthy of the celebrities of any country.

Regarded as a mere military chieftain, Toussaint L'Overture is entitled to take high rank; but the object of his appeal to arms was not to secure worldly glory, or to realize results which are anticipated by those who make warlike pursuits a profession, but simply to assert the rights, and maintain the liberties of his people, which had been so long wrested from them. Great, however, as were his military successes, we would rather refer to him as the framer and administrator of just and wholesome laws, the calmer of unruly passions, the reconciler of conflicting interests, and the reducer of chaotic elements into harmonious and symmetrical order. In this capacity he was worthy of double honour. Nor

was he less remarkable in his social and domestic relations—as the attached and devoted servant, the tender and affectionate husband and father, the faithful friend, and the strict observer of his promises and engagements.

The following details of his history are gathered from a source to which we were indebted for our two last negro biographies.

Gaou Guinon, King of one of the most powerful tribes of Africa, had a son, who was taken prisoner in war by a hostile people, and sold, as is customary, to some white traffickers in human merchandize. In common with many others, he was conveyed to the shores of St. Domingo, into which island a large annual importation of slaves was then taking place. The African prince was purchased by the Count de Noé, a French proprietor of an extensive plantation, situated a few miles inland from Cape François. Here he was kindly treated, and seems altogether to have led as happy a life as one in a state of bondage could well do: he married a maiden of his own colour and country—a fellow-slave on the same plantation—and by her had eight children, of whom Toussaint, born May 17th, 1743, was the eldest. Here beneath the balmy sky and amid the luxuriant vegetation of the tropics, the negro boy seems to have grown up to manhood, without experiencing any of those hardships and sufferings to which the slave is most commonly exposed. Always thoughtful and serious beyond his years, he had early attracted the attention of M. de Libertas, the agent or manager of Toussaint's master, who, as some authorities say, had him taught to read and write: but this is unlikely; for, with all their affability and kindness to their slaves, these French masters still looked

upon them as an inferior order of beings, on whom it would be useless, if not dangerous, to bestow mental instruction. The most probable account is, that the young Toussaint gained such slight elementary knowledge as he possessed from one Pierre Baptiste, a shrewd and intelligent negro on his master's estate, whose natural good abilities had been cultivated and improved by some benevolent missionaries. Be this as it may, certain it is that he did, during the season of his by no means heavy bondage, snatch a few sprigs from the tree of knowledge; and so rich was the soil of the mind in which he planted them, that when he cast aside his shackles, came forth from his prison-house, and stood before the world as the champion and director of his lately enslaved but now free brethren, all were astonished at the abundance and maturity of the fruits displayed.

Sober, honest, industrious, and religiously disposed, it was soon seen that he was one in whom dependence might be placed: he was first advanced to the office of coachman to M. de Libertas, whose entire confidence he enjoyed; from which he was promoted to the responsible post of foreman of the sugar-works. About this time he married. The following is his own description of his mode of life: "We went to labour in our fields with hand clasped in hand; we returned in the same manner; scarcely did we feel the fatigues of the day. Heaven bestowed a blessing on our toil, by means of which we were not only comforted ourselves, but we were enabled to assist others. On the Sunday, and on holidays, my wife, my relatives, and myself went to church. Returning to our cottage, after an agreeable repast, we spent the rest of the day in family intercourse, and we terminated it by prayer, in which we all joined."

Toussaint L'Overture might probably have continued in this state of existence had not circumstances arisen which promised to alter the whole political condition of the island. The mighty struggle for freedom which was taking place in France had reflected its influence on the colonial possessions of that country. Loyalty at first to the King of France, whom he had been taught to consider as the rightful claimant of his allegiance, led him to place himself and his followers under the command of the Spanish General who sided with the French royalists. This was soon after the breaking out of the negro insurrection, which, commencing in a plantation contiguous to that belonging to his master, had spread like wildfire through the colony, and involved the whole property of the French planters in one wide scene of ruin and devastation, amid which many of the owners and their families perished. Toussaint assisted his kind master to escape, and to save as much

of the property as could be borne off and rendered available for future subsistence. In the insurrection Toussaint had refused to join, because he saw nothing great or worthy in the motives which prompted the rising of the slaves.

But when Toussaint heard coming across the waters the glorious declaration, which was like a voice from heaven proclaiming the freedom of his enslaved brethren, that "all men are born and continue free and equal as to their rights," this being the declaration of the assembled representatives of the French people, uttered amid the bloody throes of a struggle for freedom such as the world never saw before, and which had been publicly proclaimed in St. Domingo, he at once saw that his loyalty had mistaken its object, and that in fighting against the Republic he had been but serving the cause of oppression and despotism. At once he resigned the high command which he held under the Spanish General, and was about to retire to the obscurity of private life, there to abide patiently, until Providence by some unmistakeable sign should call him forth to the work of establishing the full and entire freedom of his race; and for this sign he had not to wait. The greater portion of the negroes who had acted with him as the allies of the Spaniards, also deserted the royalist cause; others flocked to him from all quarters; and Toussaint was proclaimed by common assent the General-in-Chief of these dusky forces—the emancipator of the blacks. And it soon became evident that a master mind was among them. Neither the mulattoes, a powerful body in the island, who had refused to recognise the right to liberty of those whose skin was but a few shades darker than their own, nor the Spaniards, who then held possession of about two-thirds of the land, were able to stand against the power of the negroes, organized and directed by Toussaint L'Overture, the man who made an opening everywhere, as the French Republican General, after he had gladly accepted his alliance, admiringly called him.

Soon, under the firm, judicious, and temperate rule of the negro chief, the island of St. Domingo began to assume an aspect very different from what it had lately presented. The devastated plantations, which had become overgrown with rank vegetation, and converted into perfect wildernesses, were again brought under cultivation, on a system which ensured to the cultivators—no longer toiling for the profit alone of exacting masters—a sufficient remuneration for their labour, while it rendered a considerable sum for the purposes of government. The white and mulatto planters were invited to return and take possession of their estates under certain conditions of allegiance to the ruling powers,

and of payment to their *free* labourers. And last, though far from least, there were the negroes, numbering about 500,000, in all the delirium of newly-acquired freedom, ignorant and rude, as men must be in a state of Slavery, with their hatreds and their animosities, the growth of generations of wrong and suffering, liable to be led or provoked into the commission of all sorts of follies and crimes. It was at this moment of utter confusion and disorganization that Toussaint L'Overture appeared as the spirit and ruler of the storm. Outrages were repressed, whether committed by blacks or whites; and a feeling of peace and security began to take the place of universal terror and distrust which had lately prevailed. Wherever his presence was most required, there was the negro chief, calm, yet energetic; resolute yet gentle and urbane. Of all plots and conspiracies he seemed to be made aware by some mysterious intuition, and he was in the midst of the plotters, sometimes alone and unarmed, to subdue them by the dignity of his moral courage and mild persuasion, sometimes with an overpowering force to awe them into submission.

In 1795 occurred an insurrection of mulattoes at the town of Cape François, the headquarters of the French General Laveaux, who was seized and imprisoned by the insurgents. This afforded the negro chief an opportunity of proving his devotion to the Republic, to which he had but recently sent in his adhesion. He marched at the head of 10,000 blacks to the city, then held by the mulattoes, whom he reduced to submission, thus rescuing the French General from his perilous position, and reinstating him in his command of the colony. Speaking of Toussaint, Laveaux afterwards remarked: "It is this black, this Spartacus predicted by Raynal, who is destined to avenge the wrongs done to his race." To which saying may be added the admission made by another French General, Lacroix, who wrote an account of the revolution in the island, in terms by no means favourable to the negroes. "It must be allowed, that if St. Domingo still carried the colours of France, it was solely owing to an old negro, who seemed to bear a commission from Heaven to unite its dilacerated members." In 1795, a new commission arrived from the mother country, and Toussaint was loaded with compliments and expressions of obligation for his services; and in 1796, Laveaux being obliged to return to France, the black General was made Commander-in-chief of the French forces: thus the whole authority of the colony, civil and military, was placed in his hands. Toussaint was virtually the sovereign power long ere he had thrown off the yoke of France and declared his independence. Spain soon after retired

from the contest, and gave up possession of that large portion of the island which she had held ever since its discovery by Columbus. The British, who had for some time maintained a footing there, were also obliged to evacuate their posts, and leave him undisputed master of the fortifications. An anecdote, which exhibits the character of Toussaint in so honourable a light that we cannot refrain from quoting it, is related in reference to this period of his career. General Maitland, who commanded the British forces, before he finally left the island was desirous that an interview should take place between himself and the negro chief, and for this purpose did not hesitate to visit the camp, and thus place himself completely in the power of those with whom he had lately been at mortal enmity. Nothing could shew more strongly a perfect confidence in Toussaint's integrity; which confidence the event fully justified. The black General had received from Roumé, the French Commissioner, a letter urging him to take this opportunity of serving the government at home, by seizing the person of the British officer, who, while on his way to the camp, had some intimation of this. He proceeded nevertheless, and having reached Toussaint's quarters, he had to wait some considerable time before the black chief appeared. When he did so, he bore in his hand two letters, which he requested General Maitland to read. One was the treacherous proposal from the Commissioner, the other the answer to it, just written, and containing an indignant refusal to act in so base a manner. "I am," he said, in conclusion, "faithfully devoted to the Republic, but will not serve it at the expense of my conscience and my honour."

It was not long after this that he sent his two sons, Isaac and Placide, to France, that they might be educated there under the eye of the Directory, and serve as hostages for his good faith and fidelity. What a return he met with for his misplaced confidence! Every means were employed to attach these youths to the interests of France; and when Buonaparte, urged, partly by the misrepresentations of the enemies of Toussaint and the blacks, who had been obliged to leave St. Domingo, and partly, it seems more than probable, by jealousy of a growing greatness that might one day overshadow his own, determined on sending an expedition against the island, these sons of the negro chief were sent with it, as instruments to be used in any way that might best conduce to the overthrow of their father's power and influence. Twenty-five thousand men, the flower of the French army, were embarked on board the squadron, of more than fifty sail; and the leader of the expedition, Le Clerc, seems to have been fettered by no just feelings nor

honourable scruples in his dealings with the ruling powers of the colony. He had proclamations for the people, full of fine-sounding words which meant nothing, and false representations of the good intentions of the home government towards the colony and the negroes. He had others for the Generals to whom Toussaint had entrusted the defence of the various divisions of the island, some of whom were induced to betray the trust reposed in them, and to join their forces with those of the invaders. As a last resource, he had well-trained blood-hounds, for hunting down such of the negroes as could neither be threatened nor cajoled into a desertion of the cause of freedom.

Whether the idea of a separation from the mother-country was entertained by Toussaint, cannot be determined, at least he never gave expression to such a wish. In 1801, however, rumours reached the colony that Buonaparte, who had never condescended to answer, except by vague messages, the several letters which Toussaint had addressed to him, contemplated the re-establishment of Slavery in St. Domingo, and then we have the first hint of an independent government. An assembly of representatives from all parts of the country was convened, and the draft of a constitution carefully drawn up and presented to them, by which the whole executive civil power, and the command of the forces, was to be placed in the hands of a Governor-general. Toussaint was to hold this office for life, and to nominate the first of his successors, whose term of rule was to be limited to five years. This constitution, which gave to St. Domingo a virtual independence under the guardianship of France, was proclaimed on the 1st May 1801. It was perhaps the news of this movement in the direction of freedom which at once determined Napoleon to crush the power that threatened one day to interfere with his ambitious designs.

The first sight of the formidable French fleet assured Toussaint of the determination of Buonaparte to crush himself and his adherents; and bitter indeed was the disappointment to his noble heart to find that one on whom he had looked as the champion of liberty—whose meteor-like career he had watched with intense admiration—and to whom he had repeatedly sent fraternal greetings and proffers of service and devotion,—that he, above all others, should put forth his powerful arm to dash to the earth the cup of liberty, of which the long-oppressed African had just begun to taste,—this was a sore blow to Toussaint; yet was he neither daunted by it, nor urged by the menacing aspect of this new danger into any acts of rashness or cruelty towards the whites in the island. His strict injunction to his emancipated countrymen had ever been, “No re-

taliation for former wrongs and sufferings;” and his severest punishments had fallen upon those of his followers who disregarded this command. This was the man whom Le Clerc, after he had in vain endeavoured, by all the arts of diplomacy, to deceive or intimidate, proclaimed an outlaw; obliging him to take refuge with his family among the mountain-fastnesses of the island, where, surrounded by devoted friends and followers, he might have set at defiance the whole power of the French army, until the climate, which was making fearful ravages among them, had wrought for him the work of deliverance.

After the war had been carried on for some time, with great loss to the French, a truce was proffered by Le Clerc, which Toussaint, grieved to the heart at the miseries and ravages of war, gladly accepted. This led to a pretended treaty, by which the negro chief was assured of the continuance of his governorship of the island, and the retention of their respective ranks to all the officers of his army. Le Clerc was to act simply as the French deputy, and to take such a share in the regulation of affairs as the former representatives of the mother-country had been accustomed to do. L’Overture was to retire for awhile to one of his country-seats, and seek that repose which he so much needed. This treaty was the cause of great rejoicing throughout the island: the blacks and the whites mingled together amicably; all set about repairing the ravages of war; smiles were on every face and hope in every heart, except those which harboured treachery, and knew that the treaty was all a delusion. Having thus lulled to sleep the vigilance of Toussaint and his devoted friends, the French set about contriving how they might entrap the mighty African, whom they dared not seize openly, and take him, as the first Consul had commanded, a prisoner to France. With the oath on his lips—“I swear before the Supreme Being to respect the liberty of the people of St. Domingo,” with which he had concluded the treaty, he was plotting in his heart how best to compass the overthrow of the man by whom that liberty had been achieved, and in whom the coloured population of the island, numbering at least nine-tenths of the whole, trusted for its continuance. He instructed General Brunet, one of his officers, to overcharge one of the divisions or cantonments of the island with troops: this, as was expected, called forth a remonstrance from the inhabitants, and Toussaint was invited from his secure retreat to meet the French General, and arrange the affair in a manner satisfactory to all parties. Generously confiding in the professions of his pretended friends, he came to the spot indicated, with the specified number of attendants, and, while the con-

ference was in progress, was surrounded by a superior force, led on by an admiral of France, and he and all the members of his family on whom hands could be laid, were made prisoners, and hurried on board a ship of war, which instantly set sail, and conveyed him from the shores of that beautiful island, where he had hoped to shew to the world how peaceful, how orderly, how great and prosperous, might become a commonwealth of negroes properly governed and instructed.

How many of the French troops found a grave amid the sands and swamps of the island, carried off by the fever and the pestilence which at certain seasons prevail, it is not our purpose to dwell upon. A wretched remnant, however, only returned to tell the tale of their discomfiture.

The treacherous seizure of Toussaint and his family exasperated the negroes to a pitch of phrenzy: such of them as had been deceived into a coalition with the French at once saw their error, and turned against them. There was no longer truce, but war to the knife; unheard of cruelties were perpetrated on both sides; and the struggle terminated in the total defeat of the French, and the proclamation of the independence of St. Domingo, or Hayti, the original name of the island.

But what became of Toussaint L'Overture? Arrived in the harbour of Brest, a few moments only were allowed to him to say farewell for ever to his wife and children. According to some accounts he was first taken to Paris and confined in the prison of the Temple, and there meanly persecuted by inquiries about treasures, which it was supposed he had buried in St. Domingo. Finding that he would not, or as it really appears, could not, make any revelations on this head, Napoleon had him conveyed with great secrecy to a solitary fortress in the Jura Mountains, where, after an imprisonment of ten months in a miserable dungeon, whose stone walls and roof were glassy and beaded with moisture, the strong constitution of this child of the tropics yielded to the wasting influence of cold, hunger, and confinement; and he died, as surely and more cruelly murdered than if he had been shot or hanged like the vilest criminal.

ANTI-NEBRASKA AGITATION.

THE Members of Congress who opposed the passage of the Nebraska Bill have held a meeting in Washington, D. C. They assembled on the 20th of June ult., under the presidency of the HON. SOLOMON FOOT of Vermont: the HON. DANIEL MACE of Indiana, and the HON. REUBEN E. FENTON of New York, were elected Secretaries. A

Committee, appointed for the purpose, reported an Address to the people of the United States, which, having been discussed and amended, was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be published. The meeting was fully attended, and the Address endorsed by all the Anti-Nebraska Members of Congress. We append this able document, which will be found to embrace the chief points of the Nebraska controversy, and the history of the successive encroachments of the Slave-power upon the territories of the Union. It does not appear to us, however, that the restoration of "the Missouri Compromise" would be of any avail in settling the great question now again fairly raised, but in such a manner as it has never before been, and which seems to us to admit but of one solution, namely, separation; unless the South consent to Abolition. It is of no use attempting to disguise the fact; the issue raised on this question is being discussed by the leading journals, and will now be agitated until it results in a decisive victory of the North over the South: for, of course, the latter must be vanquished in a struggle which will soon—if we mistake not the signs of the times—embrace the whole extent of the Union, and in which every man, woman, and child will have to "take sides." If the Missouri Compromise were restored, it would not place either North or South in the same position as they were relatively before the passage of the Nebraska Bill. The South has thrown off the mask, and boldly declared its intention of consolidating and extending its power by every means it can command. It has proved that it holds itself bound by no ties of political honour or morality, and hence no confidence whatever can be placed in any compact to which it should become a party; still less one like the "Missouri Compromise" proposed to be restored, which it has so recently shamelessly trampled under foot. We should be sorry to see, in future, as we have grieved to see in the past, any compromise at all between Freedom and Slavery. If the friends of Freedom mean to do any thing for it, now is their time, when their representatives in Congress inform them they are ready to do the bidding of their constituents. Let the "further measures" be at once forthcoming, and let them be decisive. Their war-cry must be, NO COMPROMISE; BUT ABOLITION OR SEPARATION.

The following is the Address, as extracted from the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*:

"TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

"The eighth section of the Act for the admission of Missouri into the Union, known as the Missouri Compromise Law, by which the introduction of Slavery into the regions now known as Kansas and Nebraska was for ever prohibited, has been repealed. That law which, in 1820,

quieted a controversy which menaced the Union, and upon which you have so long reposed, is obliterated from the statute-book. We had no reason to expect any such proposition when we assembled here six months ago, nor did you expect it. No State, no citizen of any State, had demanded the repeal. It seems a duty we owe to the country to state the grounds upon which we have stedfastly, though ineffectually, opposed this alarming and dangerous act.

"You need not be told that the Slavery question lies at the bottom of it. As it was the slaveholding power that demanded the enactment of the Missouri Compromise, so it is the same power that has now demanded its abrogation.

"African Slavery was regarded and denounced as a great evil by the American Colonies, even before the Revolution, and those Colonies, which are now slaveholding States, were equally earnest in such remonstrances with those which are now free States. Colonial laws, framed to prevent the increase of Slavery, were vetoed by the King of Great Britain. This exercise of arbitrary power to enlarge and perpetuate a system universally regarded as equally wrongful in itself and injurious to the Colonies, was one of the causes of the Revolution. When the war was ended, there was an imperious necessity for the institution of some government in the then unoccupied territories of the United States. In 1784, Jefferson proposed, and in 1787 the Continental Congress adopted, the Ordinance for the government of the territory lying north-west of the Ohio, by which it was declared that there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime. The great and flourishing States since organized within that territory, on the basis of that Ordinance, are enduring monuments of the wisdom of the statesmen of the Revolution.

"The foreign slave-trade was regarded as the source of American Slavery, which it was believed would be dried up when that fountain should be closed. In adopting the Constitution, it was so universally anticipated that the foreign slave-trade would be promptly prohibited, that all parties acquiesced in a stipulation postponing that measure till 1808. The foreign slave-trade was prohibited: thus the source of Slavery was understood to be dried up, while the introduction of Slavery into the territories was prohibited. The Slavery question, so far as it was a national one, was understood to be finally settled, and at the same time the States had already taken up, and were carrying forward, a system of gradual emancipation. In 1803, Louisiana was acquired by purchase from France, and included what is now known as the States of Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, and Iowa, and the territories known as Kansas and Nebraska. Slavery existed at the time in New Orleans and at St. Louis, and so this purchase resulted in bringing the Slavery question again before Congress. In 1812, the region immediately surrounding New Orleans applied for admission into the Union under the name of the State of Louisiana, with a Constitution tolerating Slavery, and the free States acquiesced. Eight years afterwards, the region connected with St. Louis demanded admission under the name of the State of Missouri, with a Con-

stitution tolerating Slavery. The free States reverted to the principle of 1787, and opposed the admission of Missouri, unless she would incorporate into her Constitution an inhibition of the further introduction of Slavery into the State. The slaveholding States insisted upon her unqualified admission. A controversy arose which was sectional and embittered, and which we are assured, by contemporaneous history, seriously imperilled the Union. The statesmen of that day in Congress settled the controversy by Compromise. By the terms of this Compromise the free States assented to the admission of Missouri with her slaveholding Constitution, while the slaveholding States on their part yielded the exclusion of Slavery in all the residue of the territory which lay north of 36 deg. 30 min., constituting the present territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The slaveholding States accepted the Compromise as a triumph, and the free States have ever since left it undisturbed and unquestioned. Arkansas, a part of the territory of Louisiana, which lay south of 36 deg. 30 min., in compliance with an implication which was contained in this Compromise, was afterwards admitted as a slaveholding State, and the free States acquiesced. In 1819, Florida, a slaveholding province of Spain, was acquired. This province was afterwards admitted as a slaveholding State. The free States again acquiesced. In 1845, Texas, an independent slaveholding State, was annexed, with a provision in the article of annexation for the subdivision of her territory into five States. The free States, although they regarded the annexation, with the probable increase of the number of slave States, with very great disfavour, nevertheless acquiesced again. New territories were acquired by the treaty of peace which closed the war with Mexico. The people of California formed a constitution inhibiting Slavery, and applied for admission into the Union. Violent opposition was made by the slave States in and out of Congress, threatening the dissolution of the Union if California should be admitted. Proceeding on the ground of these alarms, Congress adopted another Compromise, the terms of which were, that ten million dollars of the people's money should be given to Texas to induce her to relinquish a very doubtful claim upon an inconsiderable part of New Mexico; that New Mexico and Utah should be organized without an inhibition of Slavery, and that they should be afterwards admitted as slave or free States, as the people, when forming Constitutions, should determine; that the public slave-trade in the district of Columbia should be abolished, without affecting the existence of Slavery in the district, and that new and rigorous provisions for the recapture of fugitive slaves, of disputed constitutionality, should be adopted, and that on these conditions California should be admitted as a free State. Repugnant as this Compromise was to the people of the free States, acquiescence was nevertheless practically obtained by means of solemn assurances, made on behalf of the slaveholding States, that the Compromise was and should be for ever regarded as a final adjustment of the Slavery question, and of all the issues which could possibly arise out of it. A new Congress convened in December 1851. Repre-

sentatives from the slave States demanded a renewed pledge of fidelity to this adjustment, and it was granted by the House of Representatives in the following terms:

'Resolved, That we recognise the binding efficacy of the Compromises of the Constitution, and believe it to be the intention of the people generally, as we hereby declare it to be ours individually, to abide by such Compromises, and sustain the laws necessary to carry them out, the provisions for the delivery of fugitive slaves and the Act of the last Congress for that purpose included; and that we deprecate all further agitation of questions embraced in the Acts of the last Congress known as the Compromise, and of questions generally connected with the institution of Slavery, as unnecessary, useless, and dangerous.'

"A few months subsequently the Democratic National Convention met at Baltimore, and, assuming to speak the sentiments of the Democratic party, set forth in its platform that the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the Slavery question, under whatever shape or colour the attempt may be made. Soon afterwards another National Convention assembled in the same city, and, assuming the right to declare the sentiments of the Whig party, said: 'We deprecate all further agitation of the questions thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever, or however made.' The present Administration was elected on the principle of adherence to this Compromise; and the President, referring to it in his inaugural speech, declared that the harmony which had been secured by it should not be disturbed during his term of office. The President, recurring to the same subject, renewed his pledge, in his message to Congress at the beginning of the present session, in the following language:

'But, notwithstanding differences of opinion and sentiments which there existed in relation to details and specific provisions, the acquiescence of distinguished citizens, whose devotion to the Union can never be doubted, has given renewed vigour to our institutions, and restored a sense of repose and security to the public mind throughout the Confederacy. That this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have the power to avert it, those who placed me here may be assured.'

"Under these circumstances, the proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise was suddenly and unexpectedly made by the same Committee on Territories, which only ten days before had affirmed the sanctity of the Missouri Compromise, and declared the end of agitation in the following explicit and unmistakable language:

'Your Committee do not feel themselves called upon to enter into a discussion of those controverted questions. They involve the same grave issues which produced the agitation, the sectional strife, and the fearful struggle of 1850. As Congress deemed it wise and prudent to re-

frain from deciding the matters in controversy *then*, either by affirming or repealing the Mexican laws, or by an act declaratory of the true intent of the Constitution, and the extent of the protection afforded by it to slave property in the territories, so your Committee are not prepared *now* to recommend a departure from the course pursued upon that memorable occasion, either by *affirming* or *repealing* the eighth section of the Missouri Act, or by any act declaratory of the meaning of the Constitution in respect to the legal points in dispute.'

"The abrogation has been effected in pursuance of the demands of the Administration itself, and by means of its influence on Congress. In the House of Representatives, that body which is more immediately responsible to the people, the contest was more equal than in the Senate, though it is due to justice and candour that it should be stated that it could not have been carried in either House without the votes of the representatives from the free States. The minority resisted the attempts to arrest discussion upon this grave question, through a struggle of longer duration than any other known to Congressional history. Some attempt was made to stigmatize that minority as 'factionists,' yet we fearlessly declare that, throughout the contest, they resorted solely to the powers secured to them by the law and the rules of the House, and the passage of the measure through the House was effected through a subversion of its rules by the majority, and the exercise of a power unprecedented in the annals of Congressional legislation. The deed is done. It is done with a clear proclamation by the Administration and by Congress, that the principle which it contains extends not only to Kansas and Nebraska, but to all the other territories now belonging to the United States, and to all which may hereafter be acquired. It has been done unnecessarily and wantonly, because there was no pressure for the organization of Governments in Kansas and Nebraska, neither of which territories contained one lawful inhabitant who was a citizen of the United States, and because there was not only no danger of disunion apprehended, but by this reckless measure the free States have lost all the guarantee for freedom in the territories contained in former Compromises, while all the States, both slave and free, have lost the guarantees of harmony and union which those Compromises afforded. It seems plain to us that, fatal as the measure is in these respects, it is only a cover for broader propagandism of Slavery in the future. The object of the Administration, and of the many who represent the slave States, is, as we believe, to prepare the way for annexing Cuba at whatever cost, and a like annexation of half a dozen of the States of Mexico, to be admitted also as slave States. These acquisitions are to be made peaceably, if they can be purchased at the cost of hundreds of millions. If they cannot be made peacefully, then at the cost of a war with Mexico, and a war with Spain, and a war with England, and a war with France, and at the cost of an alliance with Russia scarcely less repugnant. Unmistakable indications also appear of a purpose to annex the eastern part of San

Domingo, and so to subjugate the whole island, restoring it to the dominion of Slavery; and this is to be followed up by an alliance with Brazil, and the extension of Slavery in the valley of the Amazon. It is for you to judge whether, when Slavery shall have made these additions to the United States, it will demand unconditional submission on the part of the free States, and, failing in that demand, attempt a withdrawal of the slave States, and the organization of a separate empire in the central region of the continent. From an act so unjust and wrongful in itself, and fraught with consequences so fearful, we appeal to the people. We appeal in no sectional spirit. We appeal equally to the North and to the South, to the free States and to the slaveholding States themselves. It is no time for exaggeration or for passion, and we therefore speak calmly of the past, and warn you, in sober seriousness, of the future. It would not become us, nor is it necessary, to suggest the measures which ought to be adopted in this great emergency. For ourselves, we are ready to do all that shall be in our power to restore the Missouri Compromise, and to execute such further measures as you in your wisdom shall command, and as may be necessary for the recovery of the ground lost to Freedom, and to prevent the further aggressions of Slavery.

"SOLOMON FOOT, Chairman.

"DANIEL MACE,
"REUBEN E. FENTON, } Secretaries."

ELIHU BURRITT IN THE SOUTH.

THE July Number of the *Bond of Brotherhood* contains a brief relation of our friend Elihu Burritt's progress in the United States, in the prosecution of his *Ocean Penny Postage* movement. In the course of his journey, he proceeded into the Slave States, where he saw Slavery face to face, but, it would appear, with its holiday-clothes on. He has no doubt faithfully recorded what he saw, and what he narrates will not be read without interest. We sub-join extracts:

"On Friday, May 19, we left Washington for the tour through the Southern and Western States, which we had so long postponed. Although the season was far advanced, and the weather was beginning to approach its summer heat, we were anxious to accomplish this long journey for many important considerations connected with the cheap *Ocean Postage* movement, and the *Free-labour Produce* question. In the first place, nothing could be more auspicious or remarkable than obtaining the sympathy and co-operation of the South in support of a measure of great public utility. The citizens of that part of the Union had rarely, if ever, petitioned Congress for any thing whatever. They had been accustomed to speak their will to Congress through their representatives; but seldom to approach that body through the medium of a written memorial. A Southern member of the House had recently boasted of this characteristic. Then, at the present moment, the two sections of the Union are arrayed against each other in the deepest antagonism, and threats of disunion and

other disasters are exchanged with vehement emotion. Under these circumstances, we confess to a special gratification from the thought of eliciting from the principal cities of the South respectful petitions for a measure which contemplates the good of every section of the Union, and of every class of the community.

"Our first day's journey was from Washington to Richmond, in Virginia. Descending the Potomac, our steamer passed Mount Vernon. The venerable mansion of Washington looks down upon the river through the foliage of the trees planted by his hands; and a Sabbath-quiet rests like a presence of beauty upon the scene. The simple tomb in which he sleeps his last sleep is just perceptible from the Potomac of his boyhood; and as we passed the resting-place of the 'Father of his country' the steamer's bell tolled a tribute of respect for nearly half an hour. There was a plaintive cadence to the sound as it died away upon the morning surface of the river; and at every utterance of the brazen tongue it seemed to say, *Gone! Gone! Gone!*

* * * *

"While in Richmond we visited a large, manufactory of tobacco, which is the great product and staple of wealth of this part of Virginia. It was an immense establishment, in which more than one hundred slaves were employed in the different processes through which the poisonous weed passes before it is ready for market. It was quite a singular spectacle to see such a multitude of sable faces, old and young, all shining in the temperature of a bakery in July, and all engaged in skilful and rapid manipulations of the raw and unsavoury material; some twisting and wreathing the leaves into cakes of the size and complexion of a French roll; others kneading, pressing, and steaming them, after the fashion of hot waffles. The weighing and measuring eye, and a keen sleight of hand, are requisite to a high degree in every stage of the business; and all these capacities seem to be readily acquired by the slaves. There was a feature in the management of the establishment which struck us as peculiarly significant. In order to stimulate the slaves to an industry which no compulsion can exact, the *piece-work* system has been adopted. A task is allotted to every hand, and all that is done over that is paid for at a fixed rate of compensation. Thus, to a certain extent, every hand works with nerves strung by some of the stimulants of free labour. We were told that, almost without exception, every negro, young or old, was quickened to increased activity by this new impulse. Many would earn two dollars, and some five, a-week, by this extra work. They were always ready to begin at the earliest practicable hour in the morning, and, in short days, to labour as long as the manager would consent to keep on the gas. These were very interesting facts, and full of instruction. While waiting at the hotel for the train to Petersburg, we fell into conversation with a planter, residing in the vicinity of the Natural Bridge, upon the subject of agriculture, labour, &c. He entered forthwith, without any suggestion on our part, upon their 'domestic institution.' He said he was born in Connecticut, and came into Virginia while a boy;

that he was horrified at the sight of the first slave auction he witnessed; but a repetition of the spectacle familiarised and reconciled him to the custom. In this respect, he said, one was like a soldier in battle: he quailed at the first fire, or sight of blood; but, after a few shots, all his first sentiments of horror disappeared. He then spoke of the profits of raising young negroes, which were greater than those of the crops. After dwelling upon these points for awhile, he spoke of the attachment his negroes felt for him; how they would vie with each other in the alacrity and eagerness with which they would run out to welcome him home on his return from a journey. He then rebuked Northern men for interfering with their domestic institutions, and dwelt upon the hard condition of the free negroes of the North. Turning his remarks in another direction, he paid a full tribute of respect to the Friends, and other Northern farmers, who had come into Virginia, and raised tracts of its exhausted lands into a high state of fertility and production; admitting that, in so doing, they had increased the value of the land in the whole section they occupied nearly three hundred per cent. We gathered much interesting information from his remarks. At the close of this conversation, a gentleman introduced himself to us as a member of the Mechanics' Association, before which we delivered a lecture in 1841. He said that the Society soon ran down, with plenty of funds in its treasury; that the employers and manufacturers were rather adverse to the acquisition of knowledge by their journeymen and apprentices, lest it should raise them above their condition, as labour was regarded as belonging chiefly to slaves. He said there was only one public school in the city, though it contained a population of 85,000; that it was difficult to establish free-schools even in large towns, and quite impracticable in the country.

"Sunday, May 21—Spent the Sabbath in Petersburg, and attended religious service in three different African churches. The houses were well filled, in one case crowded to excess, by coloured people of all ages and conditions. Some of the most venerable-looking men I ever saw were among the worshippers. Their exercises breathed the spirit of deep devotion, and were conducted with great feeling, order, and propriety. Most of the congregation were slaves, including, in one or two cases, minister and elders. All were well dressed; many of the young men in fine broadcloth, after the latest fashion, with gold watches in their pockets. The young women wore elegant dresses of figured muslin, with bonnets after the modern style attached to the back of the head, and leaving it uncovered from the middle forward. This propensity and taste for dress have been the result of giving piece-work to slaves, by which they are able weekly to earn a few dollars for themselves. We saw a two-storey house, painted white, with green window-blinds, which was owned by a man who did not own himself. These were facts which deeply interested us, as they seemed to prove that these bondmen and women were prepared to exercise aright the prerogatives of freedom.

"Left Petersburg in the evening of Monday, 22d, and proceeded to Wilmington, in North

Carolina, where we arrived the following night. Passed through vast regions of country in an uncultivated state, capable of great production, if brought under the action of free labour. On the way we saw, for the first time, a field of cotton, and wondered why sinews, bought and sold, should be deemed necessary for its cultivation.

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"Before leaving the city we witnessed a spectacle which we would not have voluntarily looked upon. In walking up the main street, we saw a pretty large collection of people assembled in the most conspicuous place by the market-house, and heard the auctioneer's voice vociferating with great rapidity, 'Just a-going, for nine hundred and eighty-five dollars. Going! going! Nobody say any more?—going!' We mechanically turned from the side-walk to the crowd to see what was *going* for such an unusual sum. It certainly could not be a carriage and pair of horses, was our first thought; it might possibly be a house-lot in the city. 'Going!' repeated the auctioneer. 'Will no one say more than nine hundred and eighty-five dollars?' We looked around for the article and the bidder in vain for a moment. 'Going!' said the man with the hammer, leaning a little forward, as if to give the impending blow additional force. 'Have you all done?' At that moment the whole truth of the transaction burst upon us. We had noticed a negro man somewhat elevated in the midst, but thought he had been an attendant, or keeper of the property at auctions; that his part was to hold the horse or cow for sale, and not the chattel itself. 'Going!' In an instant we saw the block on which he stood exposed. 'Going!' His arms were folded across his breast, and his eyes turned under the brim of his coarse palm hat with a slow, leering look of despair around upon the crowd. It was all the revelation of a moment, and a sickly shudder thrilled our veins, like the touch of ice; but before we could turn away from the scene the hammer fell, with 'Gone to Mr. M'P— for nine hundred and eighty-five dollars!' We walked away with our face to the ground, wondering if this strange transaction, that had passed like a vision before us, could in very deed be a reality. 'Going! going! gone!' and that leering look of the slave towards his new master, will remain in our memory as long as it clings to any incident of the past.

"At nine the same evening (24th) we left Wilmington for Charleston, South Carolina, travelling all night, and until three P.M. the following day, before we reached that city. About midnight we reached the Great Pedee river, which we crossed in large flat boats, one for the passengers, the other for their luggage. It would be difficult to convey any idea of this performance, and the scene connected with it. There was the deep, turbid river, rolling as swift as the Rhine, between high shelving banks, covered with primeval forest trees, of every foliage, deep, dark, and still. All was still and solemn, and sullenly grand. From the railway down to the boats on which we were to cross this kind of Styx, fires of resinous pine-branches were kindled at a few yards from each other. These were

for general illumination of the whole space occupied in the embarkment. Then half-naked negroes, with a bundle of pine splints lighted in their hands, walked between the outer fires and the passengers down to the boats. To pourtray the scene revealed in the glare of these red, resinous bonfires and torchfires would be wholly impossible. Up and down, and across the river, spectral shadows and human figures, trees, stream and sky, stars above and stars below, mingled in a midnight vista quite indescribable. The slow-moving files of negroes descending with the baggage and mail-bags on their shoulders, the crossing and re-crossing of the rude torches, and the silence with which the whole process was executed, presented a species of dreamy pantomime, in which the grand and grotesque figured in momentary alternation. The railway train on the other side of the river was elevated on a high wooden staging almost overhanging the water. To this we ascended by rude and primitive steps, partly natural and partly artificial, lighted by the pitch-pine torches. In the course of an hour we were again on our way, dashing through a wilderness of darkly-wooded marsh lands, which cover a large portion of this part of the Southern States. Towards morning we emerged into an arable region, and were soon among the cotton-fields, which, to ourself, were objects of new and peculiar interest. We soon made the acquaintance of a Southern gentleman, who was very frank and affable, and entered into all the topics connected with Southern agriculture and labour with great animation. He gave us many very interesting facts in reference to these matters. On passing the cotton-fields, we had been struck with a circumstance which appeared to us a little singular. In many cases the negroes were scattered about the field, each in a small section by himself, presenting a spectacle similar to that witnessed by the traveller in France, where a large field is often tilled by scores of half-acre proprietors. We noticed that every one of these slaves was striking out, with his hoe or mattock, with remarkable energy, as if he had a personal interest in every stroke. In other portions of the field were also stakes set up, as if to mark allotments. On asking the meaning of these landmarks, we were told that they designated tasks for the negroes; that it had been found a good policy to give them piece-work, or a daily task, to perform; that this system was coming to be extensively adopted, and was working well. He dwelt with a kind of enthusiasm upon the result of it in his own case. In the first place, it had entirely saved him the expense of an overseer on his plantation. He allotted out the labour upon it in tasks to his slaves, and he found they needed no bell to call them up in the morning. They would often go out to the cotton-field and wait there for the daylight, that they might not lose a moment in commencing their labour. Some would finish their tasks by 11 A.M., others at 12, 1, or 2 P.M. The rest of the day they had for themselves, which they employed in cultivating their patches of land, on which they produced vegetables of all kinds, and sometimes cotton. This he bought of them, and paid always a little more for it than he received in market. This enabled them to gratify their taste for dress, &c.

It was a great relief and convenience to himself, for he could go from home when he chose, and feel that matters would go right in his absence. It obviated the necessity of any flogging or scolding on his plantation. To us, it was almost amusing, as well as gratifying, to see the earnestness and enthusiasm with which he described these results of *interested* and *partially requited* labour. It seemed a great discovery to him, that his negroes, and those of his neighbours, could work without an overseer; could wake without his bell in the morning, and labour without the crack of his lash at noon, merely from the motive of a kind of indirect compensation for their toil, or the privilege of purchasing by it a few hours for themselves, not for rest, but for toil, of which all the reward was to be their own. Had some New-England farmer discovered a guano deposit or a copper-mine on his land, he would not have expatiated upon its advantages with more self-gratulation, than did this Carolina planter upon the extraordinary impetus it communicates to the slave, to give him a personal interest in his own toil. When we parted, he seemed to manifest great pleasure that he had been able to reveal to us a new principle in the dynamics of human labour. Our readers will easily conceive with what gratification we listened to his fervid exposition of this principle. We were deeply interested in seeing not only cotton-fields but rice-fields, even in the immediate vicinity of Charleston, staked out in day-tasks for the slaves, as it showed that this important principle was coming to be recognised and adopted widely over the State."

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We think it right to observe, in relation to the task-system of working slaves, that so far from its being less, it is, as we are assured by those who ought to know, far more oppressive to the unfortunates who are compelled to toil under it. It is carried out chiefly on the smaller plantations; and where masters like "to flog their own niggers," certainly renders an overseer unnecessary, because, as the master knows exactly how much labour each slave can perform, working his utmost, and as each task is staked out, it is easy for him to detect any falling off, and fix the delinquency upon the proper party. We fear that the Carolinian planter to whom our friend E. Burritt was indebted for the information that the slaves completed their tasks by 11 A.M. &c., imposed upon him to no inconsiderable extent. An average hoeing task for men is ten rows across a fifteen-acre field, the rows of cotton being four feet apart. This is when the cotton is young. When older, the task is fifteen rows. The women's task is from seven to eight rows. It takes from an hour and a quarter to an hour and a-half for a quick hand to get through one row. But here is the evidence of a man who had worked on cotton plantations for thirty years, and to whom we read the foregoing extracts: "It's awful break-back wuk, Sir! You's

'bleeged to go right on without straightenin'; and I've seen them as could'nt straighten nohows, all along o' hoeing so much. My back's been broke at it many and many a time. And then you gets in such a heat, with the sun on your bar' head, and the dust a flyin' up, till it sticks in your ha'r, and makes mud through mixin' with the pe'spiration. I knows we don't want no bell to call us up, cos we's tew much in a hurry to get to our wuk, for we knows what'll come if we doesn't git it don 'gin night. And when we is done, Sir, lor' how tired we is. I've seen myself crawl into quarters, and go right off asleep without eatin' any supper, all along o' fatigue. Task-wuk, Sir, 's a deal wusur for the niggers than being driv' by the overseer."

We might easily furnish additional evidence on this subject, but abstain lest we should trench upon the narrative we are now preparing of *Slave Life in Georgia*, which will contain some curious and interesting details on slave-labour by one who has wrought as a slave, and who is therefore a good authority.

Miscellanea.

WILLIAM FORSTER.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

THE years are many since his hand
Was laid upon my head,
Too weak and young to understand
The serious words he said.

Yet, often now the good man's look
Before me seems to swim,
As if some inward feeling took
The outward guise of him.

As if, in passion's heated war,
Our near temptation's charm,
Through him the low-voiced monitor
Forewarned me of the harm.

Stranger and pilgrim!—from that day
Of meeting, first and last,
Wherever Duty's pathway lay,
His reverent steps have passed.

The poor to feed—the lost to seek—
To proffer life to death—
Hope to the erring—to the weak,
The strength of his own faith.

To plead the captive's right—remove
The sting of hate from Law,
And soften in the fire of love
The hardened steel of War.

He walked the dark world, in the mild,
Still guidance of the Light;
In tearful tenderness a child,
A strong man in the right.

Through what great perils, on his way,
He found, in prayer, release;
Through what abysmal shadows lay
His pathway unto peace.

God knoweth; we could only see
The tranquil strength he gained;
The bondage lost in liberty,
The fear in love unfeigned.

And I—youth's wayward fancies grown
The habit of the man,
Whose field of life, by angels sown,
The wilding vines o'erran—

Low bowed in silent gratitude,
My manhood's heart enjoys
That reverence for the pure and good,
Which blessed the dreaming boy's.

Still shines the light of holy lives
Like star-beams over doubt;
Each sainted memory, Christ-like, drives
Some dark possession out.

O friend, O brother! not in vain
Thy life so calm and true,
The silver dropping of the rain,
The fall of summer dew!

How many burdened hearts have prayed
Their lives like thine might be!
But more shall pray henceforth for aid
To lay them down like thee.

With weary hand, yet stedfast will,
In old age as in youth,
Thy Master found thee sowing still
The good seed of His truth.

As on thy task-field closed the day
In golden-skied decline,
His angel met thee on the way,
And lent his arm to thine.

Thy latest care for man—thy last
Of earthly thought a prayer—
Oh! who thy mantle, backward cast,
Is worthy now to wear?

Methinks the mound which marks thy bed
Might bless our land and save,
As rose, of old, to life the dead
Who touched the prophet's grave!
(From the *National Era*.)

A TEMPERANCE MAN.—Here is a story of a man to whom honour is due, which we find in *The Genius of the West*, a Cincinnati monthly:

A gentleman cooper called upon a negro, who owns a fine farm in Ohio, and wished to purchase some stave-timber. Our coloured friend inquired for what purpose he wanted it. He received for an answer, "I have a contract for so many whisky barrels."

"Well, sir," was the prompt reply, "I have the timber for sale, and want the money, but no man shall purchase a single stave, or hoop-pole, or a particle of grain of me for that purpose."

Of course Mr. cooper was not a little "up in the back" to meet such a stern reproach, got mad, and called him a "nigger."

"That is very true," mildly replied the other, "it is my misfortune to be a negro. I can't help that, but I can help selling my timber to make whisky barrels, and I mean to do it."

The Anti-Slavery Reporter. MONDAY, OCTOBER 2d, 1854.

LONDON ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

We take this opportunity of informing our friends, that arrangements for holding the Anti-Slavery Conference, advertised in former Numbers, are in progress, particulars of which will be announced by Circular in the course of a very few days. In answer to inquiries addressed to us, respecting the day of meeting, we may say that the 28th of November appears to be the most convenient, and we hope the friends of the cause throughout the country, whether delegated to attend, or not, will bear this in mind, and make a special effort to attend this important gathering.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

THE following is an account of the latest proceedings in the House of Commons in reference to the Slave-trade. The debate took place on the 9th August last.

Mr. HUME called the attention of the House to the necessity of taking still more energetic measures for suppressing the slave-trade in Cuba. Since the active good faith which the Brazilian Government had shewn in the suppression of the slave-trade, no slaves now being admitted into the Brazils, a very large proportion of the slave-trade in Africa had been discontinued, and there now only remained Cuba, which, by continuing to receive slaves, prevented the total cessation of the abominable traffic. Whatever measures the Home Government of Spain might have taken to fulfil the pledges given to this and other countries, they were frustrated by the venality and treachery of the officials in Cuba. In the last papers which had been received on the subject, there was an instance mentioned of a subaltern and his men, placed to prevent the landing of slaves in Cuba, actually receiving a few dollars as a bribe to help in landing them. The consequence of all this treachery was, that not fewer than 10,000 negroes had been landed in Cuba during the six months up to the transmission of the last despatch from the British officer in Cuba. There was now a new Government instituted in Spain, and the principal promoter of the slave-trade to Cuba—Queen Christina—had been expelled from that country. The present, therefore, was a peculiarly favourable period for effecting the total suppression of the traffic on the part of the Spanish authorities in Cuba, and he was sure that Espartero would give his best assistance towards this great object.

LORD J. RUSSELL said, it was certainly to be deplored that, after Great Britain, France, the United States, and Brazil had rigidly put down the slave-trade, so far as their means and example went, it should still have been carried on under the protection of the Spanish authorities at Cuba. With reference, however, to the measures which had been further taken there, the

recent intelligence was of a very satisfactory nature. In February 1854, orders were issued there of the most stringent character, under which all slaves recently introduced were to be liberated, and Mr. Crawford expressed himself as having full confidence in the sincerity of the orders which had been so issued. Further orders to the same effect were issued in March, and, under them, 600 negroes, who had recently arrived, were taken by the authorities and released. Other orders directed, that any of the authorities who should fail to report the arrival of fresh slaves in the island should be at once dismissed from their office, and be subject to penalties; and, under this regulation, several district officers, who had offended against it, had been dismissed. In May, also, 600 negroes, who had been landed, and placed on an estate where it was imagined they would not be interfered with, had been released by the governor, with the full sanction of the tribunals. It was quite obvious, that if such measures were rigorously carried into effect, the importation of slaves into Cuba must soon cease. It was quite true that the venality of the persons who were employed under the Spanish Government in Cuba had, to a very large extent, frustrated the efforts which had been made to suppress the trade; but, as had been observed by his honourable friend, the Queen Mother of Spain, who—the fact was, unfortunately, too notorious—had been the chief promoter of the slave-trade to Brazil, had been removed, and a new Government had been instituted in Spain, which he doubted not would give its energetic aid to the great object in view. General Concha, who had been appointed Governor-General of Cuba, would, it might be confidently expected, zealously co-operate; and the Duke of Vittoria, who was now at the head of the Spanish Government, he had every reason to believe would leave no measure untried for the same purpose. He had long known that nobleman, and known him as a man of the greatest honour, integrity, and liberality of sentiment. He was quite sure that the Duke would do all in his power to put an end to the venality and corruption in Cuba, which had so long assisted the slave-trade there; and Her Majesty's Government would impress upon the Duke, and upon the new authorities in Spain, that all the credit of their Government would be forfeited if this disgraceful traffic were to be continued under the sanction, in any way or device, of the Spanish Government. Her Majesty's ministers would urge as strongly as possible, and as soon as possible, upon the new Government of Spain the necessity of effectually putting down that traffic. Lord Aberdeen and the Foreign Secretary of State had from time to time urged upon the Spanish Government that earnestness of purpose was only needed to enable that Government to suppress the traffic, as other countries had suppressed it. His honourable friend need move no address on the subject: he might be assured that Her Majesty's Government would keep a watchful eye on the matter; and that, setting aside all motives of interest which they might have, they felt that the total suppression of this trade, and the consequent civilization of Africa, were objects deserving the utmost endeavours to accomplish.

Sir C. PECELLE entreated the noble lord to take advantage of the present favourable moment to renew the endeavours of this Government to induce Spain to put an end to the slave-trade in Cuba. One very great difficulty which had hitherto existed in our efforts to prevent the abominable traffic was the non-sufficiency of cruisers on the coast of Cuba, and the fact that they were not of a proper description. It was almost useless to employ vessels which drew more than eleven feet of water, and which were incapable of chasing slaves into the shallow waters on the coast of Cuba.

On the 12th of the same month, the Earl of Clarendon made the following statement in the House of Lords, relative to the improved course of procedure, on the part of the Spanish Government, in relation to the fulfilment of the treaties with Great Britain for the total suppression of the Slave-trade.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON, in laying upon the table despatches from her Majesty's Consul-General at the Havannah, which had arrived so recently that they had not been included among the papers already presented to their lordships, observed that, as it had often been his painful duty to call attention to the negligent manner in which the treaties between Spain and this country, with reference to the slave-trade, had been carried out, he had now great satisfaction in stating, that since the appointment of the last Captain-General of Cuba a marked improvement in the mode of executing the treaties had been apparent; regulations of the most useful kind had not only been adopted, but carried into effect; a system for the regulation of slaves had been established throughout the island; and all officials who were found to be connected with the traffic in slaves were immediately removed. The Consul-General stated, that under the orders that had been issued, he understood that nearly all the most recently imported Africans had been released from slavery, and that the officer who was employed by the Spanish Government in this service had displayed great energy and activity in the performance of his duty, by tracing and following up the negroes brought over, and releasing them. The despatch stated: "I have no hesitation in acquainting your lordship that these energetic measures cannot fail to have a most salutary effect, and that the Government are determined to enforce the observance of the treaties." Since that, another despatch had been received, which stated that three district governors of the island of Cuba had been removed from their districts, and were then under trial, in consequence of not having carried out their orders with due effect. He was sorry to say, that in consequence of the state of affairs in Spain, the Governor-General of Cuba had been recalled; but there was the best evidence to shew that the new Governor would act up to the spirit of the treaties. He could assure their lordships that no efforts on the part of Her Majesty's Government would be wanting to secure a continuance of the good measures which had been adopted, and he had every reason to hope, from his knowledge of General Espartero, that he would take the same course. Before he sat down, he would mention another matter which he

thought well deserved public notice. For some months past there had been a report which, he was sorry to say, was very generally believed in the United States, notwithstanding all the forms of contradiction that had been given to it, that it had been for some time past the fixed intention of Her Majesty's Government to Africanize the island of Cuba, and establish a black republic there, which it was considered would be most dangerous to the tranquillity of the southern States; and that rumour had been made the pretext for all those bucaneeering expeditions against Cuba, which he believed the President and Government of the United States were most earnest in their endeavours to put a stop to. He had been asked whether such a treaty was not in existence, or whether negotiations had not been entered into for the formation of such a treaty; but his answer was, that the first rumour he ever heard on the subject came from the other side of the Atlantic. They had never made any other application to the Government of Spain than for the faithful observance of the treaties to put down the slave-trade, which the United States, just as much as themselves, were bound to assist in. The report in question had obtained so much ground in America, that he thought it his duty, on the last opportunity which he would have of bringing the subject before the House this session, to give this formal contradiction to the report.

SLAVERY IN INDIA.

IN our number for September last we gave under this head some highly interesting information relating to the condition of the slaves in the district of Travancore, who are held in bondage under the Rajah's government. We have recently received from our correspondent a communication, dated from Nagercoil, Dec. 3, 1853, from which we make the following extracts:

"The *Friend of India* has published several articles on the subject; and this, together with some agitation of the question in England, led the Indian Government to direct the British Resident in Travancore to urge emancipation on the Rajah. This he did, but without success. Still, the pressure from without, and the threat of an increase of it, has forced from the reluctant Rajah a proclamation, of which I enclose a translation.

"Only a slight acquaintance with the working of the Travancore government will make it appear that this proclamation, which makes a fair show, is next to useless, and is no boon nor amelioration, though it professes to be such. It has been drawn up by those who are either themselves slaveholders, or are under the influence of slaveholders. Most of the higher native officers own numerous slaves, and they, as well as the other slaveholders, would do their utmost to avert emancipation. To any thing short of this they would have no strong objection, for they know that, through the prejudices against the slaves entertained by all, from the Rajah to the lowest free subject, any measures merely to ameliorate will prove dead letters.

"The Rajah is a weak man, swayed in every-

thing by those about him; but as the Government slaves are no sources of wealth to the private slaveholder, the Rajah is left to do as he pleases with them.

"The clauses relating to private slaves are so indefinite, and the prospect of their being carried out so slight, that the slaves, as well as ourselves, feel that the proclamation is worthless, and that the condition of the slave will remain the same as before."

TRANSLATION OF A PROCLAMATION RELATING TO
THE SLAVES IN TRAVANCORE, OF THE DATE OF
OCT. 14, 1853.

"With a view to the amelioration of the condition of the slave population, without at the same time doing injury to the other inhabitants, the following proclamation is issued:

"1. That the children of Government slaves, born after the date of this proclamation, shall be free.

"2. That such persons, though free, must maintain the same regard for caste restrictions as has hitherto been observed.

"3. That private slaves do not constitute property which can be seized for arrears of rent or taxes in pursuance of decrees of courts or other orders.

"4. That slaves are at liberty to purchase and hold property like the other inhabitants, and that their masters and others are forbidden to appropriate any such property to themselves.

"5. That injustice done to slaves will be regarded as a breach of the 6th Regulation of the year 1835, and will be punished accordingly.

"6. That in the case of property falling to the Crown through want of heirs, the slaves connected with such property be regarded as free.

"7. That slave parents and children are not, without their consent, to be sold and separated more than fifteen miles from each other.

"8. That the pay of slaves, working for the Government, is to be the same as that of free labourers.

"9. That both Government and private slaves are to receive a moderate allowance in the time of sickness and old age.

"10. That slave children under fourteen years are not to be employed in work beyond their age and ability.

"11. That a register be kept of all births and deaths among the Government slaves; that notice of births and deaths be given to the proper authorities within thirty days of their occurrence; and that a fine be imposed in case a proper register be not kept."

FREEDOM *versus* SLAVERY.

THE following facts and figures are worth knowing and preserving. They were introduced in a speech recently made in Congress by Thomas Davis, of Rhode Island, having been compiled and condensed from the census of 1850. They will be found to substantiate the assertion that has been frequently made, namely, that Slavery, as a system, is actually productive of poverty, not wealth, and therefore unavoidably retards the progress of civilization wherever slaveholding is tolerated. Apart altogether, then, from

the question of morality—which ought to be the first consideration in professedly-Christian communities—immediate abolition is of the highest importance, as a question of political economy; and it is plainly the duty of the legislature of the United States to discourage and suppress a system which is not only destructive to public morals and religion, but to the material interests of the larger portion of the community.

What the future prospects of the territory of Nebraska-Kansas will be, with Slavery in its midst, may be judged of by the effect which the slave system has had in the Southern States, as set forth in the subjoined collection of facts and figures. It may therefore be alleged of those who voted for the Nebraska Bill, that in lending their influence to secure the introduction of Slavery into regions that were free, they have not only broken the national faith, as pledged to the Missouri Compromise, but have done violence to the cause of justice, betrayed a trust reposed in them for the public good, and been instrumental in impeding the natural progress of the country at large.

Often as the wasteful character of slave-labour has been exposed, there are probably very few who have computed the amount which the system actually costs the people of slaveholding States. The following statement will supply a portion of the needful information. We copy it from the *Friends' Review* of the 1st July ult., published in Philadelphia.

LAND VALUATION.

Comparative cash value of land per acre.

In all the free States . . .	dols. 19 26 4-16
In all the slave States . . .	5 88 4-16

Making balance in favour of
free States dols. 13 89
Or as nineteen to six—more than three times.

*Comparative cash value of land per acre in the
Old free States.—Maine, New Hampshire,
Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania,*
26 dollars 45 cents per acre.

Old Slave States.—Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and District of Columbia, 6 dollars 43 cents per acre.

Virginia compared with Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Virginia has improved lands, acres, 10,333,333½	
worth	dols. 216,500,000
Pennsylvania and New Jersey	
together,	10,333,333½
The same, but worth	528,000,000

Total cash value of land in farms.

In all the free States, is . .	dols. 2,147,250,000
In all the slave States . . .	1,118,500,000
Excess in favour of free States, dols.	1,028,750,000

Above 1,000,000,000 dollars, or as twenty-one to eleven.

The difference in the old free States and old slave States is still greater, being as twenty-nine to eleven (nearly).

Thus the excess of land, in favour of all the slave States, is as nineteen to eleven against the free States. But the value is only eleven to twenty-one.

LAND.

According to Mr. D., the value of land in the free States is three times greater than in the slave States: in other words, the cash value of farms in the whole free States is above 1,000,000,000 dollars greater than in the slave States. That the value of land in the slave States is estimated at 1,118,500,000 dollars, while that of the free States is 2,147,250,000 dollars.

POPULATION.

Population in all the free States . . .	13,435,020
Free	6,465,253
Slaves	3,204,347

Population in all the slave States . . .	9,669,600
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23,104,620

As nineteen to thirteen of the whole. The free people of the North to those of the South, as nineteen to nine. The free people of the South, to the slaves as two to one.

Old States.

Population in the old free States . . .	8,627,629
Free	2,967,558
Slaves	1,624,087

Population in the old slave States, 4,591,645; or as nineteen to ten of the whole; or as nineteen to six and a half of the free.

In 1790 the population, free and slave, of the present old slave States, was . . .	1,848,504
Old free states, was	1,968,454

Difference in favour of free States . . .	119,950
Difference now is	4,035,984

In sixty years the population increased in the old free States four and one-third times; in the old slave States, two and one-half times; or as nineteen to eleven.

Density of Population.

In the free States, 20·88 inhabitants to the square mile. In the slave States, including slaves, 11·45 inhabitants to the square mile. Excluding slaves, 7·64 inhabitants to the square mile. Excess of white inhabitants in the free States, 13·24 inhabitants to the square mile.

In the old free States, 53 inhabitants to the square mile. In the old slave States, 23 inhabitants to the square mile. Free people in the old slave States, 14·8 inhabitants to the square mile. Excess of free population in old free States, 38·2 inhabitants to the square mile.

The immigrant population of the States is as follows: Of Irish to the free States, eight to one; English, ten to one; Germans, three and a half to one; average of all, six to one; or of the 2,211,000 immigrants of 1850, but 310,000 are in the slave States.

Summary of Population.

Thus it appears that the free States have a population exceeding the slave States by 3,765,420; that the number of free people of the slave States are to those of the free States as nine to nineteen; or, in the old States, as six and a half to nineteen. That, in 1790, the difference in population in the old free and old slave States

but a little exceeded 100,000 in favour of the free States. But, in sixty years, the difference has increased to over 4,000,000; or, that while the population of the old free States has increased itself four and one-third times, that of the old slave States has only increased two and a-half times. That, in 1790, the free population of Virginia exceeded that of Massachusetts by 68,861, but that, in 1850, the State of Massachusetts, with one-eighth the extent of territory, exceeded Virginia in population by 45,366. That in 1800, the State of Ohio had 45,365 inhabitants, while Virginia possessed a free population of 514,280, and over 365,000 slaves. In 1850, Ohio had 1,980,329 inhabitants, while the free population of Virginia had only increased to 894,800, and her slaves to 526,861; so that while Virginia, the oldest and proudest State in the Union, had gained 380,520 free-men, Ohio, with a little more than two-thirds as much territory, struggling against all the disadvantages of a new country, and the unhealthiness of climate attendant upon it, had actually gained 1,934,964, or 1,554,444 more than Virginia.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

THE recent encroachments of the Slave-power in the United States, and its bold defiance of the North, as exemplified in the passage of the Nebraska-Kansas Bill, and in the recapture of the fugitives Pembroke and Burns, have called forth the following expression of opinion from Edward Baines, Esq., of Leeds, the well-known Editor of the *Leeds Mercury*. We are given to understand that the *Leeds Anti-Slavery Society* have reprinted it in the form of a Tract, uniform with the *Leeds Series*, with some introductory observations by Wilson Armistead, Esq.

“TO THE EDITORS OF NEWSPAPERS IN BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

“GENTLEMEN—Dejected, astonished, distressed, and all but despairing, after the perusal of the Boston newspapers relative to the capture of Anthony Burns, the fugitive slave, in your city, I take up my pen, at the simple impulse of duty, and in the feeble hope that you may not be uninterested in learning ‘how it strikes a stranger.’

“Known to few in your great Republic, I may be permitted to introduce myself as one of the warmest friends to a perpetual brotherhood between New and Old England, as an earnest admirer of the founders of American Independence, as one who venerates the heroic pilgrim fathers, as a lover of popular education, of voluntary religion, of temperance, of representative government, and of freedom. I am not a republican, and I do not approve of all your institutions; but from my heart I sympathize with the spirit of progress which is carrying on the United States to a foremost place among the nations, and I wish you all prosperity.

“With no shadow of prejudice, then, still less of unfriendliness, and far removed from all the passions of American party, I ask you to listen to the impressions produced on an Englishman—I may confidently say, on *all* Englishmen—by the events which have lately agitated your

city, and still more by the passing of the Nebraska Bill in Congress. Honourable and good men cannot be indifferent to the opinion of a whole Christian nation. Wise men cannot but admit that the judgment of disinterested parties is entitled to some respect.

"It is then, Gentlemen, with pain and astonishment not to be expressed, that the best friends of the United States in England have seen Boston on the brink of revolution, and Congress torn with desperate strife; the first, on occasion of sending back a fugitive slave to bondage; and the second, in enacting a law which gives up the vast centre of North America to be the domain of Slavery. That such causes should have produced such consequences has not surprised us; but that such causes could *exist* in a land of democratic liberty, of Christian institutions, of general education, and a free press, is only to be credited on irresistible evidence.

"Englishmen are not so unjust as to forget that the institution of Slavery existed in the United Provinces before they became the United States. Nor are they so unreflecting as to be blind to the enormous difficulties which must attend the removal of such an institution. They can understand the struggle of interested planters, accustomed to regard their slaves as property, and as indispensable to the cultivation of their estates. They can appreciate the forbearance which a free State may feel even towards a slave State linked with it in a great political confederacy. But they would have thought that an evil so crying, and a wrong so flagrant as Slavery, must ere this have been extinguished, under the influence of that spirit which tore a comparatively slight yoke from the neck of your fathers, and still more of those principles which have covered your land with the means of Christian ordinances. It has been so with us, and with several European nations, and we hoped it would have been so with you. Our colonial Slavery withered before the advance of Christianity. It only required that the facts should be known to a people who prized freedom for themselves, and who acknowledged the just, merciful, and loving spirit of the gospel, to become perfectly untenable. Neither the people nor the Parliament could endure it. As you know, they bought the freedom of all the slaves in the British colonies at the price of a hundred millions of dollars. We therefore looked for an equal, if not a more rapid and splendid triumph of justice among you. It seemed as if, by moral necessity, justice must continually be gaining ground upon injustice—as if the cause of right must by an innate force mount over all obstacles, and destroy the cause of oppression. Your noble Declaration of Independence appeared, like the pillar of fire and cloud between the Israelites and Egyptians, to smile upon the sons of freedom, and to frown darkly upon the oppressor. You were therefore expected to seek out and find some means of delivering the slave from his bonds. Without pronouncing how the end was to be accomplished, its actual accomplishment was thought to be inevitable. If money was required, you, who have bought half a continent, could not lack the pecuniary means. If either gold or territory was needed, the owners of California, and of the almost boundless expanse

of virgin soil from the Mississippi to the Pacific, were in a condition to offer any price. Or if this was not the right way of proceeding, the difficulty should not have conquered the unconquerable spirit of American freemen. At the very least, it was believed that you would not allow the territory of Slavery to be extended by a single league; that you would gradually contract, if you did not suddenly annihilate it; that Slavery would soon dwindle, pine, and sink ashamed into its grave; that the spirit of liberty and Christianity would achieve another and higher triumph on your soil, to win the admiration of mankind.

"But, alas! how have these reasonable hopes been dashed to the earth! Instead of a contraction of the slave territory, we see a mighty extension of it. Instead of the system languishing, it has received a dreadful accession of strength. Instead of the free States becoming so pervaded with the true spirit of freedom, that they could not endure the existence of a slave on their soil, they have become the abettors of the wrongdoers, and lend themselves—must I say, with something like eagerness—to drive back the panting fugitive to bonds and punishment. Instead of the shade of Bunker Hill proving an inviolable sanctuary, the foot of the slave-hunter has polluted it; and in the face of day, with the forms of law, and under the martial array of Boston, the poor refugee has been dragged from the very altar of liberty.

"And you, Gentlemen Editors, what have you done in the face of such events? Answer not, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' The Maker whom you worship, the Redeemer in whom you trust, reply, 'You are.' If the Press exists for any purpose above mere pelf, it is surely for the diffusion of truth and the defence of right and liberty. On such an event as the capture of Burns one would have expected every Boston newspaper to be filled with protestations against the outrage. One would have looked for the most conclusive arguments, or rather for instinctive bursts of indignation, against the system which thus violated the rights and prostrated the dignity of man. From so many organs of public and of republican sentiment, one would have anticipated a perfect crash of denunciation, making it far more impossible for a Virginian slaveholder to drag his captive through Boston streets, than for Brigham Young, the Mormon Governor of Utah, to parade his hundred wives through those streets, as he is said to have done in his own capital. In place of such virtuous indignation, what do we read? Alas! many of you I fear—a majority, a great majority—have sympathized more with the slave-catcher than with the slave; have denounced more bitterly the Abolitionists than the public crime which stung the Abolitionists almost to frenzy. I am no lover of violence; but, of all places in the world, surely Boston was the last where violence for *freedom's sake* should be denounced as an unpardonable crime. It is not on the blue waters of your lovely bay, once strewn with the merchandise of China, flung overboard by a population which revolted against a mere tax, that a vessel should ever afterwards have floated bearing the unutterably offensive burden of a *slave-hunter and his slave*: still less should a Boston population have borne to look upon it. Such things might have been done formerly at

Algiers, the victim being a white man instead of a black in Massachusetts they should have been impossible. It is true the *thing* that was dragged along your streets was a *chattel*, which, by Virginian law, you may buy, you may sell, you may work, you may flog, you may treat as a beast of burden, destitute equally of soul and affections as of every human right; but in the eye of his Maker he was a man—a Christian man—we are told, a Christian Minister—endowed with the priceless treasure of an immortal spirit, made in the image of his Maker, and ransomed by that blood which flowed for black men and white alike. Oh! Gentlemen, you think us in England less the friends of freedom than yourselves; but I assure you, in all sincerity, that such an outrage on freedom as many have looked upon coolly in Boston makes our ears tingle and our souls shudder.

"We are not insensible to the political importance of maintaining the Union; but we believe no political advantage can justify a moral wrong. No man in England, that I know of, has the slightest wish to see the Union severed, unless, indeed, the severance should appear to be indispensable to check the extension of Slavery. The prevailing belief here is, that Slavery itself is the only thing which endangers the Union. We see, indeed, the danger on both sides. It is possible, that to contend for the abolition of Slavery might provoke the slave States to declare themselves independent. But it is also possible, that to resist that abolition may extend and perpetuate the system of Slavery, which is even now rending your Churches and your population into embittered factions; whilst, in addition, it is polluting the moral sense of the people throughout the free States, exercising an influence antagonistic to that of Christianity, and thus spreading poison through the veins of your commonwealth. Which of these two dangers is the greater? Which would it be more honourable to confront? It is obvious that the present state of things cannot be perpetual. The fever cannot always continue to rage. Yet it is morally impossible that the Christianity of the North should cease to be hostile to the Slavery of the South. A great alternative is before you.—*Christianity must conquer Slavery, or Slavery will conquer Christianity.* Or it may be presented in another form—*Freedom must extend its dominion to the South, or Slavery will extend its dominion to the North.* There is, indeed, one escape from this dilemma, and that is, by a separation of the Union; in which case freedom would hold its reign in the North, and Slavery in the South. Thus three things seem possible in the future: 1. That all the States should be free States; 2. That they should all be slave States; 3. That the free States and slave States should separate. Of these three eventualities, the first would be glorious, the second would be dreadful, and the third would be a lesser evil embraced to avert a greater evil. Whether, then, you seek the glorious good or the lesser evil, duty points to steady and constant (though, of course, peaceful) efforts on the part of the North to bring about the abolition of the fell crime of Slavery; and, at the least, to repudiate, on the part of the free States and their population, any act or law tending to countenance Slavery.

"I apprehend the wise and right-thinking of your people cannot be indifferent to the opinion formed concerning them by other civilized nations. Though proud, you are sensitive. You would rather defy the world in arms than defy them in opinion. No effort could make you long impervious to the reproofs, given 'more in sorrow than in anger,' of a Christian and friendly nation, linked to you by bonds of mutual interest, as well as by religion, by language, and by a generous competition in deeds of philanthropy. If you could bear their reproaches, you could not bear the mournful entreaties of their Christian love. Were they even silent, you could not endure their sadness. America must be honoured as well as mighty. Its hands must be clean as well as strong. You pant for an honourable fame. You look with a natural, manly solicitude to what history is writing on the rock concerning you.

"What is it?"

"Spell the letters, and see if they form flattering words. If you find a dark blot there, soiling an otherwise fair inscription, O! blot out the blot, ere it be too late.

"So far as I know, there is not a single newspaper in Britain that does not consider Slavery as the cancer and curse of the United States. There is not a pulpit which does not condemn it. There is not a man in either House of Parliament who would apologize for it. The entire nation, I verily believe, deplores American Slavery as one of the darkest features of the age. And with the utmost sincerity I assure you, that those whose political sympathies draw them most strongly towards you, are precisely those who most strongly reprobate this revolting anomaly in your political and social state.

"The Nebraska and Kansas Territories Bill is regarded as one of the greatest calamities that could have befallen mankind, because allowing of an indefinite extension of the system of Slavery. It has attracted less attention than it otherwise would, from the fact of the mighty territories represented by these Indian names being almost unknown. But where the merits of the measure are understood, it is looked upon with dismay, 1st, as being a violation of a solemn pledge given in 1821 by Congress to limit the extension of Slavery; and 2dly, as devoting to that dreadful system a region four times as large as the United Kingdom, and one-fourth larger than the whole of the United States which obtained the recognition of their independence in 1783. If the heart of a great continent had been planted with the deadly Upas tree, it would have been a natural evil somewhat like the moral evil of planting it with the institution of Slavery. You would be appalled if you heard that all freedom was annihilated in England, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Sardinia. But perhaps, one or two centuries hence, such an event might appear a smaller disaster than the opening of all the central regions of North America to that domestic despotism which is far worse than any political tyranny.

"In closing this address, let me entreat that it may be ascribed to no unfriendly object—to no object but the simple and legitimate one which I profess. If unusual, I hope it may not be deemed unwarrantable. But should it be misinterpreted,

my consolation will be, that it is a disinterested and conscientious attempt to influence an important class of public men, of the same profession with myself, in favour of the great interests of humanity. On such a question all mankind have a right to think and speak.

"I am, Gentlemen,

"Your most obedient Servant,

"EDWARD BAINES.

"Leeds Mercury Office, July 1st, 1854."

CUBAN SLAVES IN ENGLAND.

On the 1st of July ultimo the *African Steam Navigation Company's* new ship, the *Candace*, sailed from Plymouth for the west coast of Africa. Amongst her passengers were twenty-three self-emancipated slaves, namely, eleven men, eight women, and four children, who had been brought from Havannah to Southampton, on the 7th of June, by the West-India Mail Steamer, the *Avon*. In consequence of private information we had received from Havannah, we were on the look-out for these unfortunates, who, on their arrival at Southampton, were kindly received by our excellent friend, Mr. Joseph Clark, and through his humane exertions at once provided for. They were in a most pitiable condition, being very scantily attired, and had suffered much from cold and wet, having been compelled to lie on the deck during the voyage, though they had paid for steerage berths. Their allowance of food was also very short, and they were indebted, several times during the voyage, to the humanity of the passengers for the means of appeasing the cravings of nature. Some difficulty was at first experienced in procuring suitable lodgings for so large a number of destitute persons, but their deplorable condition having excited the sympathy of Mr. and Madame Silva, the proprietors of *Silva's Family Hotel*, Queen's Terrace, they kindly received them, and appropriated four attics to their use. Mr. and Madame Silva having resided some years at Havannah, were therefore able to communicate freely with them. Mr. Silva subsequently recognised one of the party as having been employed on the railway works on which Mr. Silva himself was engaged in the capacity of civil engineer.

The narrative of these parties will be found extremely interesting. It throws considerable light on the condition of the slave population in Cuba, and exhibits the operation of the Spanish slave-law, which is altogether more humane than that of the United States. It will be seen, that under it the slaves have certain rights, which they can assert, and that their individuality as human beings is not obliterated, as in America, by their being also regarded as chattels. Their right to demand a change of masters, to manumit themselves on payment of a certain sum, fixed by the Government, to pay that amount either down

or by instalments, and the privileges which they are entitled to in the latter case appear to us to be worthy of notice, and go to shew, that if the slave population were not constantly recruited by new importations, and by the natural increase of the slave population, Slavery in Cuba must die out within a given time, dependent upon the extent to which the slaves availed themselves of their rights, and upon their ability to do so. The narratives we are about to submit will, we think, establish this fact, and probably throw a new light on one of the principal causes of the continuance of the slave-trade.

None of these self-manumitted negroes could speak English, but all of them conversed fluently in Spanish. They appeared to have little idea of religion, though they had all been baptized in the Roman-Catholic faith, as the Spanish law prescribes. The husbands and wives had never been married according to any Christian rite, but had chosen one another in Slavery, and seemed to regard their voluntary union as binding. None of them can read or write. That they should be able to do so was not, of course, to be expected.

They preferred going to Lagos rather than to Liberia or Sierra Leone, and were very fearful lest the ship in which they were going out to Africa should be captured, and they be forced again into Slavery. The women are very modest, and the men well-behaved. Most of them, when not animated by talking, have that woe-begone look which nothing but the suffering and degradation of Slavery can cause.

DEPOSITIONS OF THE CUBAN SLAVES.

LORENZO CLARKE: age from 35 to 38. Has been about twenty-two years in Cuba. Tacon was Captain-General. Is a native of Lagos, and was made prisoner in a war between the native chiefs. Was brought from Lagos in the brig *Negrilo*, with 560 more, of whom many were women. The latter were separated from the men. There was much sickness on board, and twenty-two died. They were very much crowded between decks, and had scarcely room to lie, sit, or stand. During the voyage the lads and women were allowed to come on deck, but the adult males were kept in close confinement below. About a fortnight before they got to Cuba, an English man of war pursued and captured the *Negrilo*. There was firing for quite an hour and a half before the capture was effected. As soon as the cruiser hove in sight, the lads that were on deck were driven below, and the hatches were battened down. One lad resisted, and tried to get up the hatch, but one of the crew chopped his hand off above the wrist with a hatchet, as he grasped the side of the hatchway. As soon as the *Negrilo* was taken, her captain and crew were shifted on board the man of war, and a portion of the crew of the latter took charge of the prize. On the arrival of the vessel at Havannah, the slaves were taken to the government barracks on the *Alameda*, near the *Morro*. Here they remained twenty-two days, until their strength

was recruited. They were then divided into two lots, one half being conducted to the *Consulado del Cerro*, the other to the *Consulado del Lucillo*. Deponent was taken to the former. Their names were entered in a book, and deponent was set to work on the public roads for the local Government. *Was told that at the end of ten years he would be entitled to his freedom as an Emancipado.* He worked on these roads, and then on the Havannah and Gueines railway for twelve years. There was an American employed on these same works, in the capacity of assistant engineer. His name was Clarke. Deponent became his servant, and therefore adopted his name. He saved a little money and put it into the lottery. He drew a prize of three hundred dollars, which sum he handed over to Clarke to save for him. Learnt, some time after, that Clarke was preparing to return to America. Asked him for the three hundred dollars. Clarke refused to give them up. Deponent then made a complaint to Don Antonio Escovedo, Secretary of the Railway Company, who advised him to tell the Captain-General. Deponent did so, and was referred by the Captain-General to the Syndic. The latter took his case in hand, compelled Clarke to give up the money, which was at once transferred to deponent. The Syndic questioned deponent, informed him that he was entitled to his freedom as an *Emancipado*, and his free papers were given to him. Deponent then went to work on his own account, as a porter, on the wharfs and quays. Has a wife and three children, two boys and a girl. The boys are named José and Roche, the girl Isabel. They have all come over with him. He paid four hundred and twenty-five dollars for their passage and his own. Paid the money to the British Consul, and told him he wanted to go back to Lagos. Was informed he must first go to London, and that he would be sent on from there. Has some money left now, but not much. Was earning a good living in Cuba, but did not want to stay. Wished to return to Africa to his relations. Knows he shall find some there, because he has heard of them quite recently through some new slaves, who have been brought from the same place.

MARIA ROSALIA GARCIA, wife of LORENZO CLARKE: is about 30 years of age. Native of Lagos, and was taken from there on board the *Negrilo*, when about eight years old. Was sold from the government barracoons to one Dolorez Garcia, whose name she took. This person was an embroideress. Government, however, demanded back deponent, and placed her at the *Beneficienza*, where she remained eight or nine days. Was taken from there by one Don Francisco la Moneda, a shoemaker, who hired her out to work, she paying him two dollars and a quarter a week. Deponent used to work as a laundress. At the end of four years she paid him sixty-eight dollars for her liberty, and procured her papers as an *Emancipado*. Has been free about ten or eleven years. Is not married to Clarke as white people are, but he is her husband.

MIGUEL MARINO. Is a native of Lagos, and is about 60 years of age. Has known almost

all the others a very long time. Has been twenty-four years at Havannah. Was taken from Lagos on board a Spanish vessel with some 300 others, of whom thirty-two died during the voyage. It was a very long one. They were three months getting to Cuba, having been closely pursued by a cruiser, and compelled to put back several times, after being some days at sea. They were landed at a coffee-estate on the Cuban coast, at last, and taken thence to the barracoons at the Havannah, called Castilio Principe. Deponent was bought from there by Don Juan de Cruz, a baker, with whom he remained two years, and who then sold him to Miguel Marino, also a baker, who baptized him by his name. This all masters are compelled by law to do. Remained with Marino eight years, when he died. Deponent was then sold again to another baker, named Don Pancho Aguiar, with whom he remained a year and a half. Saved some money, and put it into the lottery, and drew a prize of a thousand dollars. Bought himself for five hundred dollars, and his wife for three hundred dollars. On gaining his freedom, he began to work as a porter. Has a wife, Margarita Cabrera. The little girl, Matea Marino, is his child, but not Margarita's. He paid two hundred dollars for his passage and that of his wife.

MARGARITA CABRERA. Is a Caravali, a cannibal tribe in the interior of Africa, on the west coast. Was kidnapped when about 23 or 24 years of age. Is now about 60. Does not know the name of the place on the coast from which she was brought, nor how many slaves were on board, but a great many: quite full. They were landed at Havannah at La Punto. Deponent was sold to Cabrera, a merchant, with whom she remained fifteen years. She worked on his plantations, cultivating sugar-cane and coffee. The slaves used to work from three in the morning till noon, when they used to breakfast. They fared very badly, and were severely tasked and flogged. After breakfast they returned to their work, and went on till sunset, and often later. After serving her first master for fifteen years, deponent was sold to Don Scipiano Aguiar, a saddler and harness-maker. She used to do the washing. Remained nine years with him, when she was bought by a black woman, also a Caravali, who had been brought to Cuba as a slave, but had ransomed herself, and was now following the occupation of a laundress. This woman's name was Manuella Munoz. With her deponent remained a year and a half, when her husband bought her off for three hundred dollars. In her country they make slaves in war. The white men buy all their slaves, and the chiefs then "make more war for more slaves." Does not think it is so bad for black men to have slaves as it is for white men. "Black men no Jesu: white men all religion."

MATTEA MARINO. A little girl about 5 years old. Her mother is a black Creole, and is at the Havannah. Her father is Miguel Marino.

This is a beautiful little creature, a perfect model of form, and singularly intelligent. She is as black as Indian ink. Her face is

round, like a cherub's, and the facial angle is quite after the Caucasian type. But for her woolly hair and flat nose, her negro origin might be doubted. She expressed willingness to remain in England, and an offer was made to her father and Margarita to bring her up in this country. They declined, however, especially Margarita, who said, "We have only that one, Senor."

IGNATIO MONI: is about 41 years of age. Was brought direct from Lagos and landed at Havannah, at Castilio Principe, in Tacon's time. There were 350 more slaves, men and women, on board, of whom six died during the passage. The cargo was taken to the barracoons of Don Manuel Barriero, a negro-trader, since dead. Deponent was sold to a builder named Don Antonio Mayo, who re-sold him, two months after, to a farrier, one Don Pedro Moni, whose name deponent took. Remained with him until within the last nine years. Deponent had taken a wife, also a slave, and both set to work to buy themselves off. Deponent purchased her first. Paid five hundred dollars for her. Her mistress wanted seven hundred, but deponent appealed to the Syndic, who compelled her owner to take the five hundred dollars. Bought himself for a similar sum. After this, worked as a porter on the wharfs and quays. Saved enough to pay the passage of himself and wife, which cost him two hundred dollars. Expects to find his mother and brother at Lagos. Has heard of them within the last eight or nine months from new slaves landed at Havannah.

CATARINA BOSC, wife of the above deponent. Is about 40 years of age, and has been about twenty years in Havannah. Was taken from Lagos by a Spanish slaver, with some 600 more. Only two died on the passage, that she knew of. Shortly after her arrival, was sold to a merchant named Bosc, in whose service she remained, as cook and laundress, for four years and a half. Bosc then sold her to a negress named Rosalia Aguirre, a seller of provisions in the streets, and who kept an eating-house. Rosalia was a Caravali. Deponent remained with her five years and a half, when her husband, Ignatio Moni, bought her for five hundred dollars.

We would call attention to the circumstance of Ignatius Moni's having compelled his wife's owner to receive five hundred dollars for her ransom. This, it appears, is the highest sum—as fixed by the Government—that any owner can demand as the price of his slave, when the latter is in a position to offer this sum down for his freedom. Should he refuse, or demand more, the slave has the right of appealing to a local functionary called a Syndic, who can compel the owner to accept the sum proffered, and forthwith free the slave.

GABRIEL CRUSATI. Does not know his age, but thinks about 40. Has been twelve years in Havannah. Was taken from Lagos by a Spanish slaver, with some 200 more, of whom many

were women. Four slaves died on the passage. They were landed on the Cuban coast, in a wood, and thence taken to the barracoons. Deponent was purchased from the barracoons by Don Luis Droseo, a merchant, and was employed by him on the wharf. Remained with him seven months, when he was sold to another merchant, Joaquim Lupicio, who employed him in a similar manner. This man was a relative of Crusati's, whose name was given to deponent. Remained with him six years. Had a little money when sold to Lupicio; and at the end of seven years had saved enough to buy himself off for five hundred dollars. Has a wife, Luisa Macorra, who is with him now. After he became free, deponent worked on the wharfs and quays. He and his wife paid each a hundred dollars for their passage.

MARIA LUISA MACORRA, wife of the above. Is about 28, and has been seventeen years in Havannah. Is a Lucomi, and came from Lagos. There were 420 more slaves on board the vessel. One of them jumped overboard, but was picked up, and severely punished by flogging. He died in consequence. The men were then all put in irons. The cargo was taken to Castilio Principe. Deponent was bought by Don José Macorra, who kept a lottery-office. Served in the capacity of a house domestic. Remained with him seven years, but he was a very bad master, and therefore deponent exercised her right to demand that he should sell her. Deponent had met with a relation, named now Brigilia Pina, whom she prevailed upon to buy her. Brigilia sold provisions. She died a year after she had purchased deponent. Her heirs left her "cuartada" in three hundred dollars, and sold her for this sum to another relation named Mauricio Rodriguez, a bricklayer. Deponent used to pay him nine dollars a month. Remained three years with him, when she became "cuartada" in one hundred dollars to Don Alejandro Minez. After one year's service she completed the purchase of herself for this sum. Has been about four years free, and got her living by cooking. Paid her own passage, one hundred dollars.

The foregoing case is extremely interesting, as illustrating two other humane features in the Spanish slave-law. The first is, that the slave, if dissatisfied with his master, may insist upon the latter's selling him to another. In such case, the slave must seek a new owner himself within three days, who purchases him at the price originally paid for him, or at a fair deduction for depreciation in value from hard service or other sufficient cause.

The second point in the Spanish law favourable to the slave is, that if he desire to manumit himself, and has not the sum of five hundred dollars to pay down to his master, but only a portion thereof, small or large, he can become what is called "cuartada." He agrees with his master that the price of his freedom shall be fixed at a given sum, on which he pays an instalment. His master then gives him a licence to hire himself out, and to work on his own account, the slave

being bound to pay to the master at the rate of one shilling per day on every hundred dollars of the balance left unpaid of the amount agreed upon as his purchase-money. This is being "en cuartado." But the law goes yet further, for the slave thus situated cannot be re-enslaved entirely. If his master dies, the slave becomes only the "cuartada" of the heir, (as is exemplified in the case of *Macorra* given above,) who, should he sell him, cannot do so for more than the sum remaining unpaid. *Macorra*, it will be observed, was first sold for three hundred dollars, being then "cuartada" to Pina's heirs to this amount, and afterwards for only one hundred dollars, she having reduced by two-thirds the sum she owed for herself.

DOLORÉ RÉAL. Is about 40 years of age, and has been thirty years in Havannah. Is a native of Lagos, of the Lucomi tribe, and was taken thence by a Spanish slaver, a large vessel, with many more slaves, but does not know how many. They were landed near Cardenas, and taken to the barracoons in Havannah, where they remained a month. Deponent was bought by *Carmen Réal*, a free negro woman, also a native of Lagos. *Réal* was a laundress, and had eight or nine other female slaves. Remained with her six years, when she was sold to *Padre Léon*, a priest, as a servant. At the end of seven years deponent bought herself for four hundred and fifty dollars. On regaining her freedom she resumed her occupation as a laundress, earning about fifteen dollars a month. Deponent paid one hundred and four dollars for her passage back to Lagos, where she is now going.

Deponent knows she shall find her mother and her three brothers when she gets back. Has heard of them within the last four months, through some *Bozals*, newly-imported from Lagos. These people, who had not then been made slaves, had conversed with some self-manumitted negroes who had gone back to Lagos from Havannah some time ago. This circumstance is not at all uncommon. The slaves in Havannah often hear of their relatives through the newly-imported *Bozals*. Self-manumitted slaves are also constantly going back home. Some years ago a large number of them freighted a Spanish vessel direct from Havannah to Lagos, entirely at their own cost. Through them many slaves sent news home to their friends.

This touching incident in slave life as it is in Cuba, will, we feel sure, not pass unnoticed by our readers. The circumstance of so many of this unfortunate class toiling to save money to return home is extremely interesting, illustrating the strength of their natural affections, which Slavery so rudely and wantonly outrages, and their industrious habits when left to labour for themselves.

MARIANA MERCEDES PILOTO. Has been twenty-two years in Havannah. Does not know her age, but her free-papers state her to be 35, which she believes is nearly correct. Is a Luco-

mi, from Lagos, whence she was shipped on a Spanish vessel, with many others, and landed up a creek on the coast, near Havannah. Was at once taken to her master, who had a share in the venture. His name was *Don Antonio la Fé*. He kept a grocer's store. Deponent was hired out to a laundress, and soon after sold, but does not remember the name of the party who purchased her. He sold her again to a *Monsieur Thibault*, a Frenchman, who died soon after. Deponent remained with *Madame Thibault*. The latter was a dress-maker. Deponent saved money, and ultimately bought herself for the legal sum of five hundred dollars paid down. Has been free four years, and paid one hundred dollars for her passage.

They were all very badly used coming from Havannah. They had not enough food, and the crew threw water over them when they were lying about sick on the deck. They came from Havannah *via* St. Thomas, and were twenty-five days on the passage from the latter place.

LUCA MARTINO: is about 45, and has been thirty-one years in Havannah. Is brother to *Miguel Marino*. Was brought from Lagos on board a Spanish vessel, which, almost immediately after it had sailed, was captured by a British cruiser. The slaves were landed at *Casa Blanca*, opposite Havannah, and placed in the government barracoons. Deponent remained here three months. Was then hired out from the barracoons to *Don Manuel Martino*, who, on condition of receiving from deponent three dollars a week, allowed him to work as a water-carrier. When *Martino* hired him, no entry of deponent's name was made in any register. Eight years after, deponent accidentally met his brother in the public streets. He was very glad. They embraced each other and cried. Deponent remained with *Martino* till *Martino* died, when he became the property of his son, of whom he ultimately bought himself for four hundred dollars. Deponent has a wife and five children in Havannah. She was a free-born Creole. Deponent had not money enough to pay for their passage, so it was agreed he should go to Africa and work there till he had earned sufficient to send for them. Deponent has brothers and sisters at Lagos, and is anxious to see them. They will lend him money to send for his wife and family. Has been free since 1840, but though an *emancipado*, he has not his papers as one. Those he has shew he has freed himself. Many more *emancipados* are similarly circumstanced. Does not know, but thinks *Martino* paid the Government a sum of money for him. Deponent means that Government sold him as though he had been a slave. If this had not been so, does not know why the son of *Martino* should have made deponent pay four hundred dollars for his liberty.

The reader will understand that the above-named deponent, having been captured by a British cruiser, became entitled, as an *emancipado*, to his freedom, on the expiration of his apprenticeship, or term of servitude, which should not have exceeded five years from the time of his being indented. Instead of this,

he was virtually sold, inasmuch as the local Government would appear to have exacted a certain bonus from the party who purchased his services, which sum became a permanent debt upon himself until he was able to discharge it, and thus purchase his own freedom.

This is an illustration of one of the many abuses which have sprung out of a system devised on the false supposition that "the slave requires to be prepared for freedom."

TELAFORO SAVEDRA: is about 48 years of age, a native of Lagos, and has been in Havannah twenty-nine years. Was brought away by a Spanish vessel, with some 300 more, men and women. Seven were punished during the voyage, of whom six died in consequence. Five others also died from natural causes. When they were about four days' sail from Havannah they were captured by an English cruiser. The slaves were taken to the Government barracoons, where they remained fifteen days. At the end of this time, deponent was hired out, under the Consulate surveillance, to a chocolate manufacturer and confectioner named Savedra, with whom he remained ten years: this man flogged him very badly sometimes. Was then hired by a Monsieur Greffé, in the same trade, who paid Government ten doubloons (about 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ sterling) for his term. Deponent remained with Greffé twelve years, by which time he had saved up the ten doubloons Greffé had paid for him. Took this sum to the Consulate, and paid it back. On this his free papers were handed to him. Before he got them, however, he had to pay the Commissary of Police a fee of two dollars and a quarter. Has now been free seven years, during which time he has worked at his trade. Paid one hundred dollars for his passage.

This case, like the foregoing, would go to prove, that the local authorities derive considerable fees from hiring out the slaves who come under the category of *emancipados*. No wonder the official returns present such a bare account of their numbers. It will be seen that they are virtually held in servitude.

AUGUSTIN ACOSTA: is about 40. Has been twenty-four years in Havannah. Was taken from Lagos by a Spanish slaver. There were 400 or more other negroes on board, men and women. They were pretty well treated during the voyage. None died, though the small-pox broke out amongst them. The cargo was landed in a bye-place on the coast near Havannah. The slaves were taken thence to a barracoon. Deponent was sold with forty others to one Trebucio Yané, a dealer, who hired him out as a labourer on different sugar and coffee-estates in the interior, some distance apart. Deponent worked in the field and in the sugar-house. The hours of labour were from day-light, or about four in the morning, to midnight, one hour being allowed in the middle of the day for meals. The daily allowance was a bit of dried salt beef, about as large as your three fingers. They had no bread, but yams and plantains. They went very short of food, but had plenty of sugar and water to

drink. Lived under Yané twelve years. Yané always hired deponent out on condition that he should not be flogged, but the others used to be very severely whipped. Yané sold him to one Lopez Diez, who lived in one of the provinces, and with whom he remained two years, as a house-servant. Deponent was then sold to Don Manuel Acosta, a planter, who had coffee and sugar-estates. With him deponent remained nine years, when he became able to buy himself off for fifty dollars. Paid one hundred dollars for his passage from Havannah to England, and expects to be sent free of cost to Lagos.

JOAQUIM PEREZ: is between 50 and 60 years of age, and has been from twenty-nine to thirty years in Havannah. Is a native of Lagos. Was brought from thence in a Spanish vessel with 300 men and women. The small-pox broke out during the voyage, and they lost four by this disease. They were landed under the hills on the coast, in open day, and were taken to the barracoons of Castillo Principe. This place has been converted into an estate. Deponent remained in the barracoons three days. Was fetched away by his master, who had a share in the venture. His name was Perez, and deponent remained with him twelve years. He was a merchant, and deponent worked on the quay, with a gang of other slaves. Perez then sold him to Joaquim Lupicio, whom he served for fifteen years. Deponent had been able to save, and was at length enabled to buy himself off, which he did for five hundred and fifty dollars. It took him a long time to save so much. Has a wife, Martina Segui, and a son. They have accompanied him. The son is eighteen. Deponent has paid three hundred dollars for their passage.

MARTINA SEGUI: wife of the above deponent. Is about 42 to 45 years old, as near as she can guess. Was quite a girl when she came to Havannah, and has been there thirty-one or thirty-two years. Is a native of Lagos, whence she was brought to Havannah, with upwards of 500 more. Twenty negroes died during the passage. They were landed between two woods, at a retired place on the coast, and distributed as they were landed. They were expected. Deponent was sold to one Don José Morales, a planter, who sent her out to vend provisions. Was with him a year, and then sold to Segui, a Mandingo, now free, and who was foreman on the quay. She pursued her former occupation under him, and became his "cuartada." She was valued at four hundred dollars, and gave him two hundred down, agreeing to bring him three dollars a week. Altogether, was with him twenty years. Was then sold for two hundred dollars to one Joaquim Mendiola, and after she had been in his service three years, was able to free herself. In the mean time she had bought off her son for one hundred and fifty dollars. Has been free seven years. Her son's name is CRESENCIO SEGUI. He is a cigar-maker by trade, and is now eighteen years old.

MANUEL VIDAÜ: is about 42 years old. Was taken prisoner at Lagos in a war, and thence shipped to Havannah, in 1834, on board a Spanish

vessel. Was landed near Matanzas. Three hundred more were brought by the same vessel, from the same place, but two died during the passage. There was a great number of women. Deponent was sold from the barracoons to one Don Manuel Vidau, who kept a general shop, and was a cigar-maker. Remained with him eleven years. Used to make 400 cigars a day, which is considered an average good day's work. When he did not work well, and make his quantity, he used to be stripped, tied down, and flogged with the cow-hide. Has been very badly flogged. Vidau, his late master, has now sold his slaves, and returned to Spain with a large fortune. He sold deponent to one Don Pedro Carrera, a coffee and sugar-broker. This party has also retired from business, and returned to Spain, but his sons remain at Havannah. Carrera licensed deponent to hire himself out to work. Used to earn six and seven dollars a week making cigars, and paid his master four dollars and a half. Saved money and joined thirty-nine others in a lottery-ticket. They drew a prize of sixteen thousand dollars, which they divided equally, deponent getting four hundred. Bought himself for five hundred and eighty-nine dollars. Has now been free from seven to eight years, and earned a living making cigars. Earned sufficient to keep himself, wife, and an adopted child, and saved enough to pay their passage to London. It cost him two hundred and twenty-five dollars. Could get a very good livelihood in Havannah, but wished to return to Lagos, to his relatives.

This deponent is a remarkably handsome and well-formed negro. He is the leader of the party, who obey him implicitly. They call him *capitan* or captain. He is also the most intelligent of the number.

MARIA LUISA PICARD, wife of Vidau. Is about 32, and has been in Havannah twenty-one years. Is also a native of Lagos. Was brought from thence in a Spanish vessel, with a large number of other slaves, male and female. They were landed on the coast, near Havannah, and taken to the barracoons. About one-third of the number were ill. Deponent was sold to Don José Maria Picard, a broker, and served in his family as nurse and cook. Was with him four years. Was then sold to Don Pedro Maximo Valdez, a gentleman, as a house-servant. After being with him two years, she became his "cuartada" for two hundred dollars, having paid him two hundred and fifty dollars on account. Was in Valdez' family eight years. Has been free about seven years. About that time, Manuel Vidau took her as his wife. They have no children of their own, but Manuel Aye, who is with them, is their child by adoption. He is about four years and a half old. Both his parents are dead: they died of cholera in 1852. They were blood relations of her husband's. Manuel Aye is their nephew. They have brought him up by hand since he was four months' old. His parents could not take care of him. They had bad masters, and had no time to attend to the child.

Although the foregoing narratives may exhibit Slavery in Cuba under some of its

more favourable aspects, as compared with Slavery in the Southern States of the American Union, it must be borne in mind, that, with the exception of two of the deponents, all of them were *urban* slaves. Now, although the Spanish slave-law possesses many humane features, and the rights of the slaves under it are guaranteed by a public opinion greatly in advance of any that ever prevailed in our own colonies, or that now exists in America, yet in the provinces it is by no means easy for the slaves employed on estates to assert their rights and claim their privileges, owing to their being so remote from any local authority. Thus the humane provisions of the law are rendered almost inoperative. The cases of Margarita Cabrera and Augustin Acosta, however, go to shew, that even when employed on the plantations, instances do occur of slaves being able to emancipate themselves.

Nearly the whole of the deponents are of the Lucumi tribe, from the vicinity of Lagos. They are said to be the most docile and industrious of all the negroes that are imported, and the majority of those who manumit themselves by purchase are of this tribe. We are informed that as many as eighty-three more were preparing to leave Havannah. If this be so, they are likely to prove a heavy charge upon private benevolence, or upon the Government.

It may not be out of place to mention here that the decree recently promulgated from Madrid, "providing for the restriction of slave-labour to agricultural purposes," &c. will, by converting the urban slaves into field labourers, to a great extent render self-emancipation more difficult in future. As the slaves will be removed to remote districts, they will not only not have ready access to the authorities, but will be deprived altogether of the opportunity of being employed in remunerative, if not even lucrative occupations.

SLAVERY FACETIE.—Let none of our readers give credit to *Punch*, or any like wicked wag, for the following rich little bit of satire on "the peculiar institution." It is clipped from the *Southern Episcopalian*, a staid and reputable religious monthly, published at Charleston, S. C., and may be taken as "specimen bricks" of a catechism for slaves contained in the April number. Viewed in all its bearings, it certainly out-punches *Punch*:

"Who keeps the snakes and all bad things from hurting you?"

"God does."

"Who gave you a master and a mistress?"

"God gave them to me."

"Who says that you must obey them?"

"God says that I must."

"What book tells you these things?"

"The Bible."

"How does God do all His work?"
 "He always does it right."
 "Does God love to work?"
 "Yes; God is always at work."
 "Do the good angels work?"
 "Yes; they do what God tells them."
 "Do they love to work?"
 "Yes; they love to please God?"
 "What does God say about your work?"
 "He that will not work shall not eat."
 "Did Adam and Eve have to work?"
 "Yes; they were to keep the garden."
 "Was it hard to keep the garden?"
 "No; it was very easy."
 "What makes the crops so hard to grow now?"
 "Sin makes it."
 "What makes you lazy?"
 "My wicked heart."
 "How do you know your heart is wicked?"
 "I feel it every day."
 "Who teaches you so many wicked things?"
 "The devil."
 "Must you let the devil teach you?"
 "No; I must not."

The humour of the questions and answers about work—particularly this: "*What does God say about your work?*" "*He that will not work shall not eat.*"—becomes surpassing droll, when we remember that this is the religious instruction provided for those who do all the hard working by those who do all the good eating. Who, after this, will say that the spiritual welfare of the slaves is neglected by their masters?—*Rochester Democrat.*

REVIEWS.

God's Image in Ebony: A series of sketches demonstrative of the Mental Powers and Intellectual Capacities of the Negro Race.

Edited by H. G. ADAMS, of Rochester.

London: Partridge and Okey. Price 1s. 6d.

THIS little volume is a compilation of the Biographies of eminent negroes and coloured men, well condensed, and extremely interesting. It shows at a glance, by facts, the utter falsity of the charge that the negro race is incapable of rising, and the negro intellect incapable of culture. We hope the work will have an extensive circulation.

It is prefaced by a *Brief Sketch of the anti-slavery movement in America*, penned by Mr. F. W. Chesson, which is not without merit; and it concludes with a *Chapter of additional Evidence*, contributed by Wilson Armistead, Esq., of Leeds; by no means the least interesting portion of the volume.

Thomas Clarkson; his Life and Labours; as especially devoted towards the abolition of Slavery; together with Reminiscences

of Sharp and Wilberforce. By JAMES ELMES. London: Longman and Co., and all Booksellers.

THIS is a highly-interesting little volume, and will abundantly repay attentive perusal. It appears to be an abstract of some larger and more comprehensive publication, in course of compilation, and which is intended to embrace the complete history of the anti-slavery movement in Great Britain, from the earliest efforts made to abolish the Slave Trade, to the declaration of Emancipation. Thus much, at least, we gather from the hints scattered through the volume. In a future number we propose to reprint a few extracts.

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JOHN BROWN,

A Fugitive Slave now in England.

EDITED BY

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW,

Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

THIS narrative will present a faithful picture of slave life on the Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Plantations of the South. It will also embrace some interesting details relating to the internal Slave-Trade, and to the system of Negro stealing, with minute particulars of the Slave Auctions and Slave-pens of Virginia, New Orleans, &c. After three unsuccessful attempts, the subject of this narrative effected his escape, having endured many years of suffering, under various masters, and been twice "willed away," and three times sold. The object of publishing this account of his life, sufferings, adventures, and escape,—apart from that of diffusing information—is to raise a sum sufficient to enable him to settle either on the West Coast of Africa, or in one of the West-India islands, to cultivate cotton, and to prove, in his own person, that it can be produced so as to remunerate those who raise it. He proposes to labour with his own hands, and is only anxious to render himself independent by that labour, and to demonstrate that the Negro is as capable of self-exertion, and of elevating himself, as his more favoured white brother, needing only the same incentives.

The Editor will be glad to reply to any communications that may be addressed to him relating to John Brown.

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